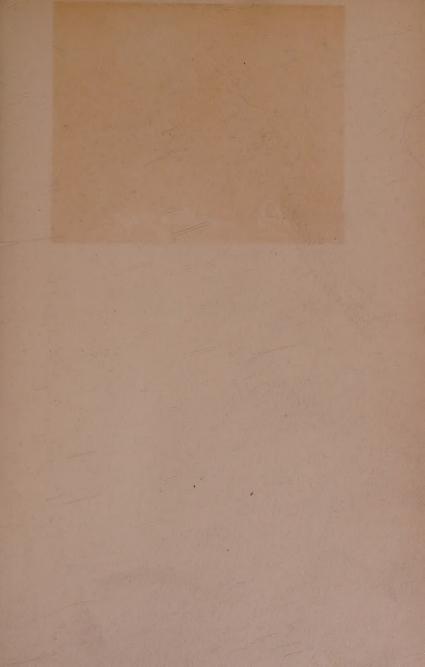


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NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE



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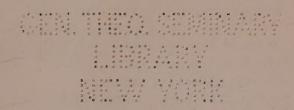
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NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

CHARLES F. SWEET

Quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne quae simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus.

CICERO: DE ORATORE, II. 15.



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NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE Japanese think that no one can comprehend Japanese history or the Japanese mind unless he, as a basis, perceives the inseparability of the Land and the Imperial House. They think that their very mythology is different in nature from the mythology of all other lands in that it ascribes every important phase to the Imperial Ancestors and to the Fatherland.

It is likely that there is no such fundamental difference in these mythological concepts as they suppose, but it may be wise to begin by accepting them provisionally, as our view-point.

The special thing upon which they insist is that the Land and the Goddess of the Sun were both born from the same parents, Izanagi and Izanami, the two self-generating, creative deities. An integral element of the same basic concept lies in their belief in the distinction in rank (not in being or nature) between the sovereign and the subject,—a distinction which they hold to be necessary and inalterable.

The earliest of their dated writings, the Kojiki (Book of Ancient Things) which appeared in 712

A.D., contains a recital of their national traditions from the origin of the world up to the year 628, passing through all conceivable shadings between pure myth and actual history. The Kojiki is quite artless in style and affords, by its childlike candour as well as by its unconsciousness of criticism and its freedom from shame, a revelation of the Japanese mind at a primitive or very early stage; which is an undesigned proof of its own honesty. The conceptions which issue here reach to all parts of Japanese literature and are still full of life and vigour.

The Kojiki is the foundation of the religion and history of Japan. It is also a treasury of myths and legends and of primitive emotions and ideas upon which literary artists have drawn so freely that allusions to it in poetry, essays, and history, as well as in artistic representations, abound wherever we look.

I give some extracts from the Kojiki, taken substantially from Mr. B. H. Chamberlain's version, published in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Tapan.

When Heaven and Earth began divinities were formed (or formed themselves - began to be) in the Plain of High Heaven, whose names were Lord of the August-Heaven-Centre, then the god High-August-Producer, then the god Divine Producer. These three divinities, all self-formed, hid their persons (disappeared, or, perhaps, died). Afterwards, when the earth, still young and like floating oil and moving itself like a sea-nettle, from a thing which rose like a reed-

bud, divinities were born whose names were Charming-Shoot-from-the-Reed-Elder-Prince, and the God-Who-keeps-himself-eternally-in-Heaven. The five divinities thus spoken of, are the Heavenly Separate Divinities. [After them came seven more divine generations, including the god Izanami,- Female-Godwho-invites, and Izanagi, - Male-God-who-invites. These two are the creative agents of the heavenly divinities. The recital goes on:]

Up there all the heavenly divinities speaking augustly to the two divinities Izanagi and Izanami, ordered them to create, engender, and consolidate this moving earth, and bestowed upon them a heavenly precious Lance, deigning to entrust this charge to them. Thus the two divinities standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven (the rainbow) and groping in the salt sea with the precious Lance and moving it about in the water koworo-koworo (as if to make a coagulation) and then lifting up the Lance, the drops of water which fell from the Lance-head heaped themselves together and became an island Onogoro (selfcoagulated). Izanagi and Izanami descended to this island and were united in marriage. They brought forth a child whom they abandoned, putting it into a boat made of reeds, and an island of foam. Having learned from the heavenly gods that if the generations were not good it was because the woman had spoken first in the marriage ceremony, they began the work of creation under more favourable conditions and engendered the Island of the Road of Foam, and then the other islands (of the Japanese group of islands).

4 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

In the same way they give birth to nature-gods,—the gods of Water, of Fuel, and of Fire. Unluckily, the god of Fire, the latest born of Izanami, burnt his mother so severely that she died. Izanagi in despair crept around the body of his wife and from his tears was born another god. After burying his wife, Izanagi in his rage tore in pieces the god of Fire, from whose blood and scattered members came still other gods. At last, in order that he might see his sister-wife, he went down into Yomi tsu Kuni (Land of Shades).

When Izanami came to the threshold to meet him, the august Izanagi spoke to her, saving: "O my august charming young sister, the countries which you and I were making are not yet finished, - deign to return to me!" To which august Izanami responded: "It is sad that you did not come sooner; I have caten in Hell! Nevertheless, O my august and charming elder brother, I am touched by your coming hither and I desire to return. I will take counsel with the divinities of Hell. Gaze not upon me!" With these words she re-entered the abode of the dead, and Izanagi waited for her return until his patience wore out, and then, tearing out one tooth from the comb which kept his hair in a knot, he kindled it for a torch and entered the region of the dead, where he found her body undergoing corruption. At her head was Great-Thunder; in her breast was Fire-Thunder; in her body was Black-Thunder; beneath her was Thunder-peal; in her right hand was Earth-Thunder; by her left foot was Rumbling-Thunder; by her right foot was *Thunder-Ending*; — eight-fold gods of Thunder had been formed and were there.

When the august Izanagi, in terror at this sight, began to flee, his younger sister Izanami the august cried after him: "You have filled me with shame!" So saying she sent the Furies in hot pursuit after him. Upon which august Izanagi snatched off the black wreath which bound his brows and threw it toward them, which instantly changed into clusters of wild grapes. The Furies checked their pursuit to pick these up and began to eat them, Izanagi continuing his flight. But when they resumed the chase and gained upon him he took off the many-toothed comb, which held his locks, and breaking it, threw it behind him. The teeth of the comb at once changed into bamboo-shoots. Again the Furies stopped and began to eat the take no ko (still a favourite dish in Japan). Izanagi still fled. Then Izanami sent after him the eight-fold Thunder-Gods with fifteen hundred warriors of Hell. But Izanagi drew the sword of ten hand-breadths with which he was augustly bound, and shook it behind him as he fled. They still pursued him until he reached the slope uniting the Land of the Dead with the Land of Life. There he stopped, and taking three peaches which had ripened on the wall, with them he struck the pursuers when they came up so that they fled back into the shades. Then Izanagi solemnly addressed the three peaches: "As you have succoured me so let all the visible men of this mid Country of the reedy plains call on you for succour in their troubles, and, I beg, give them your

aid!" Having so spoken he conferred upon them the august title Great-Divine-Fruit.

Then, last of all, his young sister the august Izanami came herself in pursuit. Whereupon he lifted a rock which a thousand men could not carry, in order to block the path up the slope, and placed it in the midst of the way, and, as they two face to face exchanged their farewells (a formula of divorce) Izanami said: "O my august charming elder brother, if you do this I will strangle and kill a thousand men in one day!" To which Izanagi the august rejoined: "O my august charming younger sister, if you do that I will cause fifteen hundred births in one day, and so in one day a thousand men will die and just as surely fifteen hundred men will be born." This is why Izanami is entitled Great Hell-Goddess.

The myth is too long for detailed quotation but before resuming the account it will be well for the reader to note some exact counterparts to details in classic myths. Among these we call attention to the title Yomi tsu Kuni, or Land of Darkness,—a title exactly the same as Shcol in Hebrew, Hades in Greek, Hell in English. Such a title may be reckoned to be inevitable when men make myths about death. More striking, and sure to give rise to question as to its source, is the saying of Izanami when Izanagi urges her to return to light: "I have eaten in Hell!" In this case the pomegranate eaten by Proserpine while in the realm of Pluto comes to mind. The correspondence between the two myths is very striking. Then again, when Izanami warns her brother— "Look

not upon me!" we have the central point of the Orpheus myth, in which Orpheus must go back to the light without turning to look at Eurydice, who follows him. Here again is an astonishing correspondence, practically an identity of concept. So too, when Izanagi takes his great sword and waves it behind him as he runs, we compare this with the attitude of the Greeks when sacrificing to the gods of the underworld,—taking care not to face them. The peach, we may remark in passing, is a magical tree in China and Japan. Finally, as a last observation about the myths, we note that like Proserpine, Izanami becomes Oueen of Hell.

In epitome the story goes on: When the god went down to the Shades to see the goddess, his body became defiled from her corrupting corpse and so, on his return to light, he washed himself, and twelve divinities took birth from his dress and ornaments, fourteen others from different phases of his bath, among them three most illustrious came, Ama-terasu-oho-mi-Kami (great-august-goddess-heaven-shining) from the washing of his left eye; Tsuki-yomi-no-Kami (god-of-the-moon-of-the-night) from the washing of his right eye; and from the washing of his nose came a third, Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto (or the August, impetuous Male, swift and brave). From the first of these three, the Sun Goddess, the Imperial Family sprang.

The realms of these three were early settled. To Amaterasu-Omikami (Heaven-Illuminating-Great-Deity) was given the rule of the Plain of High

Heaven. The night was ruled by Tsuki-Yomi; to Susanowo the Storm-God, was given the sea. And it came to pass that the grandson of the Sun Goddess (Hikohohoninigi) came down to the land and became its ruler. The land had been born as brother of the Sun Goddess, and therefore none objected when her grandson assumed this power. At a still earlier time Susanowo had gone to the province of Izumo and his fifth descendant, Okuninushi, was then reigning. He, on learning of the descent of the Sun Goddess's grandson, voluntarily went to him and handed over his dominions to his heavenly kinsman. The very centre of the myth seems to be that the exclusive right to rule is vested in the Grandson and his descendants All others must be subject to them. The Imperial Family holds a special place, for it is higher than the nation at large. All members of the Family are Kami, which means "Superior," and also by development God. In the Imperial Household the Emperor is habitually spoken of as Kami, and the ideas involved in this word are said to be always near the surface when the Imperial House is named, and conversely.

There is a poem of the seventh century:

Okimi wa Kami ni shi maseba Amakumo no Kami no ue ni mo Ihori seru kamo

which may be rendered:

Our great Prince Since he is Kami Ever in Heaven Above the thunder He sits enthroned.

And an edict of later date asserts that "The Living God reigns over our Fatherland." The Constitution bestowed by Imperial favour in 1888 makes the declaration "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable." This is the official translation of the actual language used, but the emphasis and intense force of the ideographs are beyond translation.

There is more besides about the relation between the Imperial Family and the other families of the nation. The Imperial Family is spoken of as Oyake, or Parent House (—the idea is that of the source of life) while the other families are called, in contrast to that, Koyake, or Filial Houses (bound, that is, to the Chief House, as children to their original ancestors). Thus by this concept both the subordination and dependence of the nation upon the original head as well as their community of origin are emphasized and vitalized.

The identical idea appears in the mythology, for the eight hundred myriads of gods who upheld the grandson of the Sun Goddess did so because he was the root, the vital spring of the *Oyake*, not because he was essentially superior to them.

This mutuality is the inner strength of the doctrine of filial piety in its best sense, both in China and Japan. In its strength and holding power it may be called loyalty, in its sweetness and grace it is called filial piety. But there is no distinction between the

loyalty every Japanese owes the Emperor (🚓) hurt within . . . he must go home. He stumbled and the filial piety () which he owes to his father and mother; they are both magokoro. This spirit has pervaded the whole country and appears as the inspiration of all Japanese literature, to say nothing of warfare. The much talked-of Bushido is, so far as it lives at all, an applied form of magokoro. In the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were turned so as to serve the feudal relations of Lord and Retainer which were then prevalent. The true scope of their teaching in Tapan was not so narrow, but reached far beyond such a parochial tie. Their true term is in the relation between the sole sovereign and his natural subjects, the transformation in reverse order having been effected since 1867.

The persistence of these ruling motives through all phases of Japanese history and pervading all social activities from highest to lowest, constitutes the guiding thread for all who study that history or try to account for the events and issues of the nation's activities.

Not the least noteworthy is the survival of primitive religious instincts and ideas even to the present time, and this not so much among the ignorant and backward masses as in the most highly trained and cultivated select few who determine the policy of the national schools and universities and guide the moral and spiritual energies of the people. Whatever reasons philosophers and psychologists may assign for this survival, and there are reasons proffered for ac-

ceptance in plenty, the fact is undeniable. It may be urged in extenuation of its force that the training so provided and secured for the mind of the Japanese is bringing out a horde of agnostics and that true religion is decaying as the nation pushes on into the crowd of nations which have been industrialized during the last hundred years. Both these assertions are true, and their actuality forms a menace to the future of Japan which none but Christians (and not many even of them) have perceived. None the less, among all these agnostics and among all these whose religious instincts are atrophied, the primitive, governing principle revealed in the myths of the Kojiki still dominates, pervades, and possesses,—even Christians feel the thrill when their Emperor is named, and come to — Attention!

Humanly speaking, the power of a *united* Christendom would ere this have gained Japan if it had not been for this refractory mass of primitive cults, rites, beliefs, traditions made concrete and personal in the living "Son of Heaven."

The Emperor and the Imperial House are the lifefountain, light, model, and consummation of Japan; a fact implicit and necessary (in the strict sense of the word) for all Japanese, and the very soul of the nation — not a mere objective conviction.

Now the thread of life in this constituent element of Japanese national life runs through every household in the custom of ancestor worship, which binds each family to the Central Family. In the myth the Sun Goddess hands the mirror (Yata no Kagami) to

her grandson with the injunction, "Look at it as if you saw me!" And this Mirror with the Jewel and the Sword constitutes the Sacred Treasure, or indispensable Imperial heirlooms, the possession of which authenticates the rightful dynasty.

This unbroken continuation from the earliest period of theocracy and patriarchy in the celebration or worship of national ancestors is a part of government. There is a central or national shrine at Ise, at which and from which all events are reported early in January each year, word being brought to the Emperor from his ancestral family shrine at the Matsuri-goto-hajime (Rite-business-beginning). Every important affair of state is reported to the gods at Ise. In the Imperial palace there is a counterpart shrine at which every government official sent abroad is encouraged to pay worship before leaving for his post.

Thus far there is little difficulty for the mind of a European. It is confusing to learn that, in the words of a living Japanese publicist, "we must bear in mind that we must not confuse the idea of our Kami (gods or superior beings) with gods in the religious sense. They are entirely different. To worship our Kami has no connection with the freedom of faith; it is quite independent of it. We only require that a Japanese should have magokoro toward his gods and the Head House,— and that is the first quality of being a Japanese. We have practised this very simple doctrine from the remotest times." This same writer also says that, "from the earliest times up to the present day every Japanese has made it his dearest

wish to visit the shrine at least once in his life-time. Even the most faithful Buddhist eagerly makes a pilgrimage to Ise and he does not feel that this act in any way violates his Buddhistic belief. Small Buddhist and Shinto shrines are set up in the same house, and sometimes ancestral tablets are to be seen even in the former. The influential Buddhist sects are based upon the theory that homage should be paid to our sovereigns no less than to Buddha. But the newly introduced Christianity does not favour or even understand this principle. A Christian convert should not, consistently with his faith, set up a shelf of Shinto tablets in his house. He, taking a firm and obstinate stand on his newly acquired Christian doctrines, should not be made by any inducement to worship the Imperial portrait or the Great Shrine in Ise. Such an attitude may be due to the misapprehension of the nature of the Imperial Ancestral Shrine and the historical fact touching the Imperial House. He has not, perhaps, been told or does not understand that the worship of the shrine and the reverence for the Emperor are compatible, in that he is a Japanese, with any religious doctrine, be it Buddhist, Christian or Mohammedan. Would he refuse to look up to his parents, and by implication, to his own remote ancestors?"

Besides the great shrine at Ise (great in dignity, not in size or magnificence, it being merely two Japanese houses of primitive simplicity in design, renewed every twenty years on one or another of two near-by sites) there are numerous government shrines,

and prefectural, district and village shrines. Their erection was based on ancestral worship, and the enshrined gods are the ancestors distinguished by merit. A Japanese feels there should be no inconsistency in worshipping at these shrines, which are the counterparts of the statues and memorials seen everywhere in western countries. He thinks that the clapping of hands in worship corresponds to the paying of respect or offering of wreaths to the statues of heroes and great men of the Occident. Homage to great men and heroes is a universal and natural sentiment of men, and if he may show his respect for the statues why should he not bow his head before the Japanese shrines? To do both is reasonable; the acts arise from the same spirit, the only difference lying in the manner of the homage. The same writer from whom quotation has been made says: "He is stupid who would look upon our worship of deceased heroes as a religious act. Soldiers and sailors who have succumbed to their wounds or illness in a national war are deified in the Yasukuni shrine at Kudan in Tokyo, regardless of their religious beliefs. This goes to prove that shrines have no connection whatever with religion."

Worship at shrines merely connotes respect for ancestors and heroes, and most Japanese children are taken to the shrines of their tutelary divinities on the thirtieth or thirty-first day after their birth. Every town and hamlet has its guardian deity, upon whose festival all the shops are closed, the children run about the streets in their holiday dress, the streets are decorated with bright-coloured hangings, gay banners strain

and flap from the swaying bamboo masts, paper lanterns glimmer each night before the doors, and all is merriment and bustle. The feast seems to mean that everybody shares in the good fortune of the community's ancestors.

The whole nation keeps the great feast of Ise, and there are two national harvest festivals. The Vernal and Autumnal Equinoxes are also kept as national days in commemoration of the Imperial Ancestors.

We see thus how strong a net-work of observance encloses the nation. To carry out the figure, we might say that the knots which keep the net in place are the various local and family devotions, every one of which is carried out in the same spirit and for the same ends.

The whole nation gathers around the Great House, each noble clan has its own centre, and even the most humble knows and honours its own remote patriarch. Through the whole social fabric then, run like warp and woof, the threads of kindred and distinction, each knotted firmly to the other, all the more firmly from the fact that the social unit is the family, or house, - not the individual. As a corollary, the head of the house is a monarch whom no member of the family may safely disobey. In earlier times the life and future of every member of the family were at the mercy of its head, quite as it was at Rome. The present Civil Code of laws gives, in terms, certain liberties to the individual, but the provisions of recent laws are not capable of overturning the deeprooted custom of ages, and the law is interpreted by

custom. Thus all things were directed to the abstract idea of the family, and the house was the centre of all. The choice of husband or wife was entirely in the hands of the head of the house. The bride came not so much as her husband's wife as the bride of the house, and a phrase, "to leave a name to posterity is the end of filial piety," governed marriage. Every relation in life had its vein of communication with the structure of the nation, and the soul of all was active to the most remote extremity.

Buddhism with its sects and varied teachings is still the belief of most Japanese. All the sects profess to cling to the doctrines of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni (in Japanese, *Shaka*), but they differ as widely in their presentation of their faith as Christian denominations differ in presenting Christianity.

A third element, Confucianism, further vivifies morally the social organism and adds a force much like Stoicism to the more spiritual and elusive elements of Shinto and Buddhism. Though the Tokugawa House was devoutly Buddhist, the Confucian philosophy flourished during the long period of their rule, and furnished the vital energy of the soldier class. It has been widely made known in recent years under the name of *Bushido*, the Warrior's Way of Life.

It needs to be added that these three systems became syncretized,— the original indigenous teachings of *Shinto* furnishing the basis, and the philosophy of *Buddhism* together with the moral code of *Confucian*-

ism becoming assimilated and harmonized into a somewhat advanced moral and religious unity.

We should be guilty of false philosophy, as well as an unfaithful witness to historical fact, if we stopped with this bare presentation of the non-moral myths of the Kojiki. No people could grow out of primitive savagery and develop into a nation upon no more substantial food for mind and conscience than is given in those naïve recitals. Proof of this ethical development in Shinto itself can be found in abundance, but very little has yet been presented to the world in translations. There is a body of discourses in ten volumes which passes by the name of Warongo, or Japanese Analects, which has lately been made available by Dr. Senchi Kato of the Tokyo Imperial University. These Analects comprise Oracles ascribed to Shinto gods, and moral aphorisms dating from a very remote past down to modern days. According to this Shinto School the gods of Japan are not earthly manifestations of one and the same celestial Buddha (in Japanese, Hotoke), as Buddhists usually think, but all the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (perfected disciples of the Buddha) are nothing else than manifestations of the Shinto gods.

In the Warongo it is thus put in one Oracle: India He was born as the Buddha Gautama, the Supremely Enlightened One, who was the Great Teacher, the Revealer of the True Religion, and Superior Leader of all beings, whether gods or men. In China the three Sages Kong-Futze, Laotze, and Yen-Hui were neither more nor less than our Kami Himself."

In an Oracle of Amaterasu-O-Mikami (Sun Goddess) we find: "Never be crafty, but hold fast to truth; be honest and just, then Kami will grant you heavenly blessedness even here on earth —."

In a diary of the fourteenth century we read: "In order to worship acceptably at the Shrine of the Sun Goddess at Ise the essential is purity of heart. Neither prayer nor offering is required from that man who desires above all else to obtain divine favour."

We have these Oracles:

"Upright in mind, accordant with the Will Revealed in Heaven; and over all the earth; — The man who thus directs his life Thereby declares himself divine."

"What is the Upright Heart
The guide of human life?
"Tis neither more nor is it less
Than the Divine Itself."

"The heart of man is the abode of Kami; think not that Kami is distant. He that is honest is himself a Kami, and if merciful is himself a Buddha (Hotoke). Know that man in his essential nature is one and the same with God and Buddha (Kami and Hotoke)."

A spiritual conception appears in an aphorism ascribed to Yamato-Himé, the priestess-guardian of the Ise shrine: "The goddesses of the Inner and the Outer Shrines at Ise are self-existent and primordial, having neither beginning nor end. This Great Spirit or Innermost-Self of the Kami transcends all our thoughts and is Incomprehensible. [In what

NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE 19

sense this word is used does not appear from Dr. Kato's version.] The Most High stands aloof from earthly things, and yet is neither Non-Existent nor Absolute Nothingness or Void, as asserted in the nihilistic Buddhist teaching."

CHAPTER II

It was Marco Polo who, in 1298, made Japan known to Europe. He spent many years in the Tartar realm of Kublai Khan, and during that residence heard a great deal about a marvellous land called *Cipangu*. His narrative drew the attention of the western world toward the Orient.

The first European who reached Japan seems to have been Fernando Mendez Pinto, who in 1542 was driven by adverse winds upon an outlying islet of the Empire. From that island he went on until he came to Kiu Shiu.¹ About the same time three other Portuguese, merchants sailing for China, were driven by tempests upon the coast of this same great island.

The cordial welcome given to these adventurers, the polished and courteous manners of the islanders and their openly manifested willingness to learn from the Europeans, as well as the chances for profitable trade, speedily brought a good many Portuguese to Japan. They came for trade, but they came as Christians and they let that fact be known.

Francis Xavier was the first avowed missionary who turned to the advantage of his Master the welcome given to Europeans by Japanese. He came on a Chinese junk to the port of Kagoshima, arriving August

¹ Kiu Shiu: the nine lordships or kingdoms. The most western of the four great islands of the Japanese Empire. Sometimes written Kiushiu, sometimes Kyushu.

15th, 1549. He was accompanied by two other Portuguese Jesuits and by three Japanese who had sought him out at Malacca. The most noteworthy of these Japanese was a samurai 1 who had left his native land for the express purpose of finding Francis, of whom he had heard from the Portuguese settled in Kagoshima. The other two were his servants. After long search Francis had been found, and under his guidance the Japanese knight was converted, taking in his baptism the name of $Paul\ de\ Santa\ F\acute{e}$. It was his burning zeal to bring his own loved country to the Faith which moved St. Francis to visit Japan.

The work of St. Francis was in itself of extraordinary interest and brilliancy though it lasted only two years and three months. Yet, striking as it was, its chief importance lies in its effect upon the political state of the country. He found Japan in a state not unlike that of England half a century earlier, after the Wars of the Roses — in a condition politically not far from anarchy. His relations with certain of the great feudal lords were directly influential in bringing about new movements in the political order which tended mightily to further the unifying of the empire; a work in which three great regents, one after another, were the chieftains. It is no fancy but sober reality which connects St. Francis Xavier with this secular change, even though the change came by repercussion.

As it was then, so has it been ever since, from first to last the Church of God has been strangely tangled

¹ Samurai: knightly retainer of a great lord.

up in the political developments of the Empire of Japan.

St. Francis was called by holy obedience to leave his much-loved Japanese on the 20th of November, 1551, and he set sail for China. He never reached farther than the border of China, and died on its threshold December 2nd, 1552.

During the next forty years numerous missionaries came to Japan, and under their preaching and life Christians by thousands upon thousands were made, so that not only whole families were converted but whole communities. By the year 1582 there were 200,000 Christians and 250 churches. Three Christian Daimyo, the lords of Bungo, Arima and Omura, even sent an embassy to Rome to the Pope.

In 1582 Hideyoshi become the actual ruler of Japan (though nominally under the Emperor). For several years he showed signs of favour to the missionaries, but at last he affected to believe them to be spies of the King of Spain, agents through whom that monarch might master the land. Suddenly, in 1587, he ordered that all European priests should be banished from the country, the churches pulled down and the crosses overturned. The missionaries did not leave,—not one. The envoys who had gone to Rome came back accompanied by Valegnani, a Jesuit who had received the title of Ambassador from the Viceroy of the Indies. Hideyoshi received him, though not cordially, suspecting a snare. Valegnani read his mind and

¹ Daimyo: (literally — great name) rulers of domains under the Emperor, which were practically kingdoms.

offered him ten Jesuits as hostages. This offer Hideyoshi accepted and little by little his suspicions were lulled. Hideyoshi sent his armies to Corea under command of Konishi Yukunaga, prince of Settsu, who was a Christian. Other Christian lords held commands under him. In 1593 four Spanish Franciscans arrived and were courteously received by Hideyoshi. They came to such terms with him that he allowed them to settle in his capital. In short, notwithstanding the edict in force, the Christian movement gained steadily. In the year 1592-93 more than twelve thousand adults received baptism, and the total number of believers exceeded a quarter of a million.

All at once Hideyoshi's former distrust and fears arose in fresh force, and he ordered the edict against the missionaries to be ruthlessly carried out. This is what had stirred him: In the summer of 1596 a Spanish galleon had been shipwrecked on the Japanese coast and the vessel and all that was salvaged confiscated. The ship's master, wishing to snatch something from the loss, tried to intimidate the officials by boasts about the greatness and the extent of the power of the King of Spain. When questioned as to the manner in which this might had been gained, he replied that it had been accomplished especially by missionaries who prepared the way by converting the peoples to Christianity. When this rash boast was reported to Hideyoshi his anger was kindled at once. He began a proscription of Japanese known to be in close relation with foreigners, but desisted when the Japanese in incredibly large numbers ran to put

themselves under the ban, including even a relative of Hideyoshi himself. But he ordered the arrest in his capital city of six Spanish Franciscans, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen lay Japanese. These twenty-six, who constituted the first band of martyrs of Japan, were crucified at Nagasaki, February 5th, 1597.

A year and a half later Hideyoshi died, leaving his son and heir to *Iyeyasu*, who with great astuteness contrived to get the heritage of his ward into his own hands and to revive the persecution. He was the founder of the great Tokugawa family which ruled the empire until 1868.

During the years in which Iyeyasu was gathering into his hands all the political authority of the empire, the Christians were enjoying a respite, although in a few provinces local persecutions even to blood-shedding broke out. But wherever missionaries could gain a hearing conversions multiplied. There were over 70,000 in the year 1599, and by 1605 the Christians numbered nearly two millions, and the Faith had reached every part of the empire. In 1613 the Daimyo of Sendai (a flourishing city 215 miles north of Tokyo) sent one of his vassals on an embassy to the Pope and to the King of Spain.

Yet the most dreadful calamity was at hand. Signs of the coming storm were seen in the renewing of attacks here and there. Traders from Holland in 1611 and from England in 1613, moved chiefly by animosity against Spain, but also, no doubt, by religious hatred, fomented the still glowing embers of

mistrust in the hearts of Japanese Buddhists. The special source, however, of Iyeyasu's enmity lay in the fact that the Christian Daimyo had embraced the cause of Hideyori, son and heir of Hideyoshi, whose person and whose authority Iyeyasu was scheming to betray. Under the pretext that the "foreign religion" could not lawfully be held by a Japanese, he pounced upon fourteen lords of his court, demanding of them renunciation of their belief. Upon their refusal he seized their possessions and drove them into exile.

In 1614 Iyeyasu ordered the deportation of all missionaries, the destruction of all churches, and that all Japanese Christians should, under penalty of death, renounce their faith. Like wildfire the persecution spread. Officials began pulling down churches, influential families by scores were driven into exile, missionaries were arrested and taken to Nagasaki (then, as now, the nearest port to Manila) to be sent away by ship; — the Christians began to prepare for death. Even more heart-shaking than this instant menace were the numerous apostasies.

In 1616 Iyeyasu died. His son succeeded and renewed his father's edicts. The persecution then became open, raging on year after year until the number of Japanese who died for their faith in Christ reached, according to the reckoning of modern careful and painstaking scholars who have studied the chronicles of the period and compared the data, nearly two millions. More than a hundred missionaries died for their Master. Nevertheless, after more than twenty years

of unsparing and ruthless persecution the work of uprooting the plantation of the Lord had not been carried out, thousands still clung to the faith.

The last act of the tragedy was to close in an unexampled massacre. The Christians of the province of Arima were joined by many of their fellow Japanese who were the victims of an oppressive feudal lord, and together these, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, seized the peninsula of Shimabara and fortified it, determined to resist to the end. There they were besieged by the forces of Iyemitsu, the third Tokugawa Shogun, eighty thousand in number. For some months they held out, though growing steadily weaker under the continual attacks of their enemy as well as under the pressure of famine. When, however, they saw the land armies of the Shogun aided by a Dutch war-ship they made a desperate sortie in which, to the last man, they perished. Three years later a Portuguese embassy came from Macao with a numerous suite. They were bidden to apostatize, and upon refusing, were seized. The four envoys and sixty-one of their suite were put to death. Thirteen sailors from their ships were sent back to Macao with the significant notice: "So long as the sun shall warm the earth let no Christian be bold enough to come to Japan! Let all men know that should the King of Spain, in person, or the God of the Christians, or the great Shaka 1 himself, violate this order, he shall pay for it with his head!"

¹ Shaka: Japanese form of the name of the historical Buddha, Sakvamuni.

Thus closed, in 1640, the first age of Christian enterprise in Japan; an age worthy of the name heroic, both from the greatness of the apostolic zeal of the missionaries and from the height to which the Japanese Christians carried their devotion under trials terrible enough to shake the constancy of all but those whose citizenship was in heaven.

The persecutors of the Christians knew very well that notwithstanding all their efforts they had not destroyed the hated religion. They determined to shut it out from Japan altogether. Henceforth no European was suffered to enter under any pretext. So the country was sealed against Europeans for more than two hundred years. The strictness of the enclosure is seen, too, in the fact that not only were Europeans kept out but the Japanese were forbidden, under penalty of death, to leave the empire. Such as should venture to return after having departed were treated as aliens. Even shipwrecked Japanese rescued by European vessels were ruthlessly repelled when they sought to return to their homes.

There was, however, one exception to this strict rule. A handful of Dutch traders was allowed to settle in the outskirts of Nagasaki, under humiliating conditions; and permitted once a year to receive a ship and to send back a cargo. Through this crevice in the dike a few drops of European influence trickled, so that a very small number of Japanese literati had knowledge of the western world. These Dutch argonauts, whose story may be read in Kaempfer's "History of Japan," were in nowise emissaries of the

Cross, and seem to have made no effort to overcome the abhorrence for their own religion which now pervaded the land of their lucrative exile, nor to have sought to inspire a desire to Christianize Japan in the minds of their pastors and teachers at home.

Only the co-religionists of the early missionaries kept their store of sacred memories fresh in their hearts and continued to strive to penetrate into the islands which had been dedicated to the Master by such costly sacrifices.

The rulers of the land kept their vigils too. They continued, ceaselessly, to notify that a corrupt and evil teaching had been brought to the Land of the Gods, and that the infection had gained lodging in the hearts of so many of the people that, after patient waiting and long-suffering gentleness, nothing less than the most violent measures had prevailed over the malignant invader. Moreover, danger to the empire itself was threatened by the adherents of the corrupt sect of the Christians, and therefore inquisition for them must be kept up.

Thus guarded physically, and forewarned spiritually, the island empire lay shut off from the world currents which were sweeping along so strongly and so steadily.

The very narrow limits of our space prevent a presentation of the ideas which during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867) took form in Japan, even in the most meagre outline. One thing alone must be said—the Japanese people were steadily taught to fear Christianity and to look upon it with abhorrence and

contempt. This conviction became so ingrained in their nature that their first impulse is to count belief in Christianity as incompatible with loyalty to the Emperor. It is this agelong proscription which has to be overcome by the Christian missionary, and the forms which it takes are protean.

The Japan of that quarter-millennium was Old Japan whose romantic tales have fascinated the West. The Tokugawa House held the supreme power, and to the castle in Yedo long processions of lords and knights and warriors wound their slow way by shore and mountain-pass to perform their feudal duties. Meanwhile, in his poverty-stricken seclusion, the Mikado was kept in Kyoto, possessing all the titles and rights of empire; yet he, the acknowledged source of power, exercised none of his just rights. Everywhere Christianity was proscribed and everywhere bore the marks of disgrace and infamy.

As signs of a second spring for Christ's Church, two incidents are noteworthy; with me as I write them they count as causes.

At a meeting of the directors of the Congregational Board of Missions held in the house of a merchant in Boston, Massachusetts, early in the nineteenth century, a basket, or perhaps a lacquer box, from Japan drew the remark that perhaps God might soon make it possible for missionaries to begin work in that country. Whereupon prayer was offered and a collection to be devoted to missions in Japan was made. That object was henceforth continually prayed for, the yearly collection made and set apart for the time to come.

The amounts so received finally amounted to some thousands of dollars. When the time did come, a generation later, that money formed the first capital fund of all that praiseworthy society of Christian messengers has so generously and so steadily poured forth, not only in Japan, but in many lands. The measure of their high purpose, who dares limit?

The second incident, somewhat later, was to the same effect. A simple French village curé was touched by the story of the great martyrdom, and began to pray regularly for the opening of Japan to the work of the missionaries. Soon he formed a parochial society which met to pray for Japan. The movement widened, spreading to other villages of like-minded priests, gained the approbation of bishops, and even reached the whole of France and beyond, under the sanction of the Papal blessing. Who can limit the power of these prayers of faith or believe less of them than that the sudden opening of the doors of Japan in less than a dozen years after the formation of this League of Prayer was due to them rather than to the "black ships" of Commodore Perry?

From time to time missionaries, both Seculars and Religious, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries essayed to pass the barriers, but so far as is known to no purpose. The most notable of these was Sidotti, who in 1708 effected a landing, but was speedily apprehended and at last taken to Yedo and imprisoned. While there he was interrogated by a well-known Japanese publicist, Arai Hakuseki (1666–1725), who has left in his works an account of his

repeated visits to Sidotti. Sidotti died in prison in 1714. The place where he lived is well known and still bears the name of *Kirishitan zaka* (Christian Hill).

Early in the nineteenth century the heads of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris began to prepare for a renewal of the missionary work in Japan, but their nearest approach was in the Loochoo Islands, on which a handful of French clergy contrived to maintain themselves during the "forties." They were kept at bay by the watchful officials, and accomplished nothing. Until 1854 the French missionaries who had been devoted to the work in Japan remained at Hong Kong, hoping against hope to be able to re-kindle the flame of faith. Then all at once Divine Providence so shaped the affairs of the nations that the bars began to fall and the watchers by the gate came in. This readiness of the French missionaries for service and their promptness in seizing the opportunity as soon as it came, mark a phase in the history of missions which has not been noticed sufficiently; in a compendious account of the whole field it must not be omitted: nor may we pass on without mentioning the name of the first missionary to Japan in the nineteenth century, T. A. Forçade, Vicar Apostolic.

Great and decisive events were now at hand which brought western activities into the quiet waters of the Far East. On the 8th of July, 1853, an American squadron under Commodore Perry cast anchor in the bay of Uraga, near the capital of Japan, and its commander demanded a hearing before the Emperor. After some parleying the letter from the President

of the United States to his "great and good friend, the Emperor of Japan," was received by an imperial commissioner. Having made soundings of the bay, even within sight of Yedo, the commodore sailed away on the 17th of July, giving notice, however, that he meant, in obedience to his orders, to return the following year, when he expected a frank answer to the "request" of the President. Eight months later he did return, and after three months' discussion, the first formal treaty between Japan and a western power was signed, May 31, 1854, at Kanagawa. The contrast between the contracting parties is striking. On the one hand was a power which had been under the authority of one dynasty, primitive in beliefs and ethos, from a date earlier than the Roman Empire,—an Asiatic theocracy. On the other side was the most modern of great powers, a free republic dwelling in a continent whose settlement by Europeans was so recent that it still bore the name of "the New World."

Other powers speedily demanded like acts,— Russia, Great Britain and France; and by supplementary treaties in 1858 and 1859 the land was at last opened to the missionaries of the Cross, although it was still a capital crime for the Japanese to profess Christianity, and for any one to preach it to them.

The bringing together of two civilizations so diverse in kind as the Christian and expansive nations of the West and Japan, pagan and of her own will hitherto cut off from the rest of the world, led to changes in the life of the quiescent party to the treaties such as had never been seen. It must be

understood that even the advent of the great western powers with their Christian belief would not alone have caused these changes.

Japan herself was in a state of discontent so great as to be in danger of breakup. The Tokugawa House, whose government had been founded by a statesman of very high order, had become weak and corrupt. In origin and even in theory the Tokugawa House was no higher than any of the noble clans and the resentments and jealousies which always harass successful clans in a feudal state were burning in the rival Houses. Scholars had pored over ancient national records and had learned that the rule of the Shogun was in despite of the Emperor's rights. All the weight of feudal oppression had also brought about dissatisfaction so profound as to affect even the lower strata of society, which stirred uneasily at the news of the presence of the hated western barbarians. When then the Shogun, under the influence of the only clear-sighted Minister in his service, had presumed to allow these dreaded foreigners to tread upon the sacred soil of the fatherland, all the smouldering coals of discontent were fanned to flaming. The Imperialists and the Shogunists balanced, each trying to throw upon the other the pressing duty of deciding. There were astonishing shiftings of ground. No one dared to take positive action, though stabbings and open attacks upon Legations showed plainly enough how feelings ran. The general feeling of hatred toward foreigners had its startling manifestation in the assassination of Ii Kamon no Kami, the Secretary of

State of the Shogun, who had signed the dishonouring treaties. This took place in broad daylight in the midst of Yedo at the very gate of the Shogun. That murder removed the one man who could see the meaning of events and was strong enough to shape them. Thenceforward the Shogunate, irresolute and badly managed, drifted to disaster. The almost coincident deaths of Emperor and Shogun (not without suspicion of foul play when the Emperor had at last signed the treaties) and the advent to the throne of the young heir Mutsuhito brought events to a crisis. The loyalty to the clan which had been the feudal bond broadened into love of the country, and passionate ardour for feudal lords found its perfect object in the young Mikado, whose reign from 1867 to 1912 bears the name in the Japanese annals of Era of Enlightened Rule (Meiji).

Under the stress of fresh patriotic zeal the only possible rival of the Emperor, the young Shogun, surrendered his power, and thus the Restoration was accomplished. A dozen troubled years had sufficed for these changes. Japan was now ready for the new day.

CHAPTER III

When the treaty between France and Japan was made (1858) two French priests were in residence in the Loochoo Islands. The Superior of the mission summoned them to posts in Treaty Ports, himself settling in Yokohama. There he built a church facing upon the principal street. It bore as its ensign above the gable a large gilt cross and upon its front three gilt Chinese ideographs:

Ten-shu-do (Church of the Lord of Heaven)

This strange new temple drew crowds of curious visitors, but very soon after it had been formally opened over fifty Japanese who had ventured to attend the ceremony were arrested, and it became quite clear that the permission for Christians to exercise their religion in Japan, which had been accorded them by the treaties, was not to be construed as making lawful the profession of that religion by the Japanese.

Anglican missionaries as well as French Roman Catholics had seized the opportunity to proclaim the Gospel to the Japanese. From the American Mission in China, Rev. John Liggins and Rev. Channing Moore Williams had come in June, 1859, and settled in Nagasaki, and had begun the study of the language,—

a much more difficult enterprise than transpires from the bare statement, since no teachers or books were available.

They were sent out by the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. Mr. Liggins soon lost his health and returned home, but Mr. Williams remained and after a half-century of truly apostolic labours and life passed away. Long before his death he had been made a bishop and he lived to see the various Anglican missions united on a firm basis for the upbuilding of a truly Japanese church. Later we shall trace in some detail the course of this mission, in which the deep spirituality, the steadfast faith, the unflinching zeal of the first Anglican missionary were formative elements. Nor must Townsend Harris, the first American diplomatic representative, be overlooked in this connection. He was a devoted churchman, and it was owing to him that one article in the French treaty of 1858 was agreed to by the Japanese. "French subjects in Japan shall have the right of exercising their religion freely, and to this end they may erect on the land set apart for their abode such edifices as are appropriate for their manner of worship, as churches, chapels, cemeteries, etc. The Japanese government has already abolished in the empire the use of practices insulting to Christianity." This last sentence referred to the trampling upon the cross, which had from time to time been required of Japanese as a test of good faith in the native cults.

In that same year others came from America, who

may be conveniently grouped as Presbyterian. One of these, a Hollander by birth, an American in heart and soul, Guido Verbeck, not only worked as a minister of religion but gained honour and distinction as a pioneer teacher of western learning. He became a valued counsellor of the government when a new system of education was organized on modern European methods.

Thus far American influences had been strongly put forth. But the Civil War in the United States checked the growth of all forms of American enterprise, and left the way clear for European currents. Such American missionaries as had reached Japan remained on the ground, though nothing more than hope of any conversions gave them human consolation. Not that the time was lost. They were learning the ground, they were learning the people, they were learning also the greatness of the problem and gaining perception of its bewildering complexities.

In this transition period two incidents are of primary importance,—the founding of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, and the discovery of Japanese Christians, descendants of the converts of the first period.

Ivan Kasatkin, who had taken the name of *Nicolai* upon his ordination, came to the northern island of Yezo (now named Hokkaido) as chaplain to the newly established Russian Consulate in the open port of Hakodate. He came as chaplain indeed, but his real purpose was to gain entrance to Japan in order to evangelize the people. He arrived in 1861, and on

perceiving that the condition of public affairs and the state of mind of the people then prevented missionary efforts set to work with avidity to learn the Japanese language, - a task to which he devoted almost ten years. His first convert was a Samurai, named Sawabe, who had become the guardian or pastor of a Shinto 1 shrine. He was bent upon the restoration of the Emperor and upon expelling all foreigners. Daily he saw Nicolai, and daily grew his rage and aversion, until he made up his mind to extort from him a confession that he had come to Japan to overturn the government and put the country under the rule of Russia, and then to kill him. In all his warlike gear, wearing his two swords, he burst in upon Nicolai at the consulate and demanded of him the wished-for confession of his purpose of gaining rule over Japan through his "evil teaching." Nicolai simply asked if Sawabe knew those teachings; to which he responded that he knew they were evil. Nicolai merely observed that he could not be sure of that until he had learned

¹ Shinto: Way of the Spirits, the native religion of Japan. It has grown out of ancestor worship. It includes deified spirits of heroes and great men, and natural forces. It gathers especially about the Emperor and the Imperial House. All these superior beings are called Kami or gods, yet they are not gods in our religious sense. It is, perhaps, owing to the inadequacy of the term "Kami" to express what we mean by "God" that the conversion of Japanese to Christianity is so hard a task. They think we have our national or European god whom they may welcome into the company of their Kami, or whom they may reject. That the God whom we proclaim is the One God, Creator of their Emperor, is not easy for them to grasp. There seems to be no sense of God's transcendence in being, no sense of human need of pardon from sin, no sense of sin except as crime or fault, no sense of our need of vital union with God, in Japanese mentality.

whether Christianity is indeed as odious as he fancied. Sawabe consented to listen and Nicolai began to speak about creation, as given in Genesis. Sawabe, like all of his class, was versed in literature and trained in logic, so that his anger yielded to attention and interest, and he took notes of the chief points. may be of interest to remark that Arai Hakuseki had been much struck in his conversations with Sidotti, early in the 18th century, by the force of the teaching that the world had been freely created by a holy, omnipotent God.) Sawabe asked for further instruction, and at last made known his conversion, and also brought two friends for instruction. In April, 1868, in consequence of the violent disturbances attendant upon the overthrow of the Shogunate, danger threatened Sawabe and his two friends and they were compelled to take flight. They had not yet received baptism, and one night they went by stealth to Nicolai's house and there, while a young Russian attaché of the consulate kept guard, they were baptized, and at once took flight to the main island (Hondo). Wherever they went they brought the Gospel message, and all who received it contrived to find Nicolai. Sawabe and Sakai and Urano however were forced back to Hakodate, and this enforced return proved critical in the history of the Russian Mission and in an extraordinary way depended upon the events then occurring in the political world. Nicolai saw that the general confusion then prevalent could not long continue and also that in the peaceful times certain to come he would have his long-desired opportunity. He asked for leave to go to

Russia and obtain the sanction of the Holy Governing Synod upon his plan to open a mission and to ask for supplies of men and money.

Thus the opening stage of the Russian Mission though marked by intensely dramatic events was as feeble as the others. The story of its growth will be resumed later on.

Various incidents had given rise to the idea that it was probable that Christian Japanese might be found. The strongest probability came from the notice boards which forbade Christianity and offered large rewards for the apprehension of missionaries or catechists. These seemed to prove that the government had solid reason for such public notices in the actual existence in the nation of Christian believers. But there were other things which corroborated this testimony. One day an elderly man called upon Mr. Williams at Nagasaki and after assurance that he was not seen by any other Japanese, coming close to Williams cautiously opened his mantle and showed a crucifix! A French priest met a man in the street who uttered some words sounding like Christian words of prayer or belief. The inquiries of Japanese visitors to the new French church in the Foreign Concession of Yokohama seemed prompted by something deeper than idle curiosity. A strange tale came to the ears of the French that there was a village community of descendants of Japanese apostates who were kept by the government as agents provocateurs, and who knew Christian prayers and devotions. Still, nothing definite transpired until March 17, 1865, when a group of

twelve or fifteen people, men, women, and children, came to the door of the "Church of the Twenty-six Martyrs" at Nagasaki with a manner whose earnestness indicated more than curiosity. M. Petitjean, the priest, whose moving recital is here followed, let them in, and, following them, knelt before the tabernacle. He had barely had time for a Pater Noster when three old women from the group came and knelt beside him, and one, in a voice so low that she seemed to fear the very air had ears, said, "The heart of all of us here is the same as your own!"

"Indeed," he answered, "but whence come you?"

"We are all from Urakami: 1 at Urakami almost all have the same heart as we," and at once went on -"where is the image of St. Mary?" There could be no further doubt,—he was surely in the presence of descendants of the ancient Christians of Japan. He led them to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and at once they were seized with joy, crying out, "O it is indeed St. Mary! see in her arms On Ko Jesus Sama!" (her august son Jesus the Lord).

They then freely and in all confidence poured out question after question, showing by their words that they knew the tradition, and were even aware that it was the season of Lent, and that Passiontide and Easter were at hand.

From that time Japanese Christians frequented the church in daily increasing numbers and at once at-

¹ Urakami: then a suburb of Nagasaki, now a part of the city. There is a very large church there. M. Petitjean afterward was made Bishop of Nagasaki.

tracted the notice of the spies of the police, and were soon in great danger.

The French clergy learned that everywhere in the southwest of Japan there were communities of Christians, so numerous as to form whole villages in some cases. Their organization was everywhere the same. In most of the villages there were two chiefs, one called the Prayer Leader, who generally knew how to read and write, and another, the Baptizer. The former presided over the Sunday prayer services and visited the sick, suggesting to them acts of contrition and commending the soul to God. The Baptizer administered the sacrament of baptism. He always kept a pupil in training who succeeded him when he died or went into retirement, for his functions were not to be exercised for longer than ten years. This pupil in order to become the titular Baptizer had to study the formula and ceremonies of baptism during five years. In exceptional cases the same man was both Prayer Leader and Baptizer. It is to this organization then that through the oral tradition of the chief truths of the Faith and to a few books and images piously treasured, the sons of the martyrs owed their Christian life.

The missionaries studied with great care all the documents brought to them. There were treatises on religion, collections of prayers, written baptismal formulae, Christian calendars. One tract, composed in 1603, and having for the title the word Contriçon (Contrition) struck them particularly. It was entirely written in Japanese and began thus: "The

important affair among the most important affairs is the salvation of the soul." Then came the text: "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" To read that book, Père Petitiean declared, was almost to believe that the author had foreseen the long privation of priests which the Japanese Christians would have to suffer. It is, he said, a masterpiece of doctrine, of clearness, and of style. It was brought to the missionaries by a certain Baptizer, named Domingo. It had escaped the last search made eight years before at Urakami when twenty-eight Christians of the valley had been cast into prison and most of their books, images, and "objets de piété" were burnt or taken away from them. Later on the missionaries found this same book in other places.

Besides this tract they also possessed a short summary of Christian doctrine in ten articles, some prayers from the Rituale for the moment of death, the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary, the Ten Commandments, the Act of Contrition, the Pater Noster, the Ave, the Creed, the Salve Regina, and the Sign of the Cross—all given in Japanese of the old times. A cotton seller named Matheo brought them one day a long exorcism, which was, he said, very widely used in "his" country; it was a translation into Japanese of the Latin invocation: Per signum sanctae Crucis libera nos, Deus noster, ab inimicis nostris. The missionaries attached the more importance to these terms because they would greatly facilitate the composition of a catechism.

44 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

The Christians also brought the relics of their ancestors which had come down to them through the stormy centuries. Some were a few beads from an ancient chaplet, some were engravings of the Saints. I have myself seen one of these, a small and very elegant engraving of St. Augustine. It had been given to Archdeacon King of St. Andrew's Mission in Tokyo. Père Petitjean also saw a fine copper cross, an *Ecce Homo* in iron, and a medal representing our Lord Jesus Christ on the Cross with St. Mary and St. John by His feet. In divers villages the Christians had rare crucifixes before which they gathered for prayers, to which they were much attached

The amazing thing was that with such imperfect means of safeguarding the substance of Christian doctrine, and totally cut off from all outside help in any form these Japanese believers, under the constant pressure of surveillance by their bitter foes, should have kept their faith so pure and uncorrupt.¹

Gradually the contending factions in the State became reconciled to the changes, although a state of actual civil war had prevailed in which the Im-

(Note. Interesting details about baptismal formulæ in an Appendix.)

¹ Persecutions: As recently as 1858 eighty of these Christians of Urakami had been arrested, including their chiefs. Fifty were at once released, but thirty were imprisoned, of whom ten died in prison, and most of the others in a year or two. While thus imprisoned they suffered from hunger, thirst, floggings, dislocation of joints: the nails were torn from their fingers, the skin from their hands and they were nearly crushed under the weight of huge stones piled upon them. The names of twelve who died in prison are known, their ages being from 53 to 77 years.

perialists finally gained the upper hand, driving the intransigeant bands of Shogunists steadily northward. On the 26th of November, 1868, the young Emperor arrived in Tokyo, and Prince Arisugawa, the commander of his forces, placed in his hands a brocade banner and the sword of justice in token of the pacification of the north and east. Even yet the Empire was not united, for a few desperate bands fled across the Tsugaru Straits to the northern island and in the city of Hakodate proclaimed a republic! Their final defeat came in a few months and in 1869, "second year of Meiji," the restored Imperial rule became universally acknowledged, and Japan entered timidly upon her new way of "keeping house" in association with European nations. Christianity still remained under the ban, which was not lifted for a number of years, although from 1872 the severity of the edicts was much tempered in practice.

That slight progress was made during the troubled years in evangelization is not strange, yet such as there was was sound and good. Under the influence of missionary workers converts were made whose solid worth made them true founders of Christianity. This is true regarding the Russians, also among the disciples of the French, and of American Presbyterians and Episcopalians. In 1868 the Congregationalists sent Rev. John Crosby Greene, who brought to the work a mind of singular lucidity and power of judgment, a personality strong, sympathetic and generous, lightened by a dry and somewhat caustic humour, and a will which bore him with unfaltering steadi-

ness towards the ends he sought. His learning in Japanese history and his perception of Japanese mentality both in its strength and its defects made him a true interpreter between East and West reciprocally, and long before his death in the Spring of 1913 he had become one of the outstanding figures in society, universally honoured for his character and wide knowledge, and one of the few foreigners possessing an Imperial decoration. Under his wise guidance and helped by like-minded colleagues, the Congregationalist mission became one of the strongest of the Protestant missions. Quite naturally it bears the mark of its origin, which in its Japanese churches is best seen in the emphasis placed upon self-support. Besides this, the Congregationalists have had a keen eye for strong and capable men. Indeed in their stress upon the independence of the particular congregation, failure is almost certain unless strong personalities are at the centre. The result has been seen in undertakings which make for social regeneration. Japan seems to be passing through the same stages of industrialism which European countries and America have gone through,- though not yet clear through. The conditions under which mill operatives live are oppressive and even disgraceful, the efforts at legislative reform have been quite inadequate to the needs of the millhands, and reforming measures have not been pressed through resolutely. Again, for farmers and peasants the gains of the new order have been proportionately less than for other occupations. The number of land owners is decreasing and the

lands are falling into the hands of creditor banks and great commercial concerns,—which means something like serfdom for the farm labourers, a state which did not exist in feudal Japan. Now among the results of Congregationalist influence are some undertakings designed to counteract this strong drift, made spontaneously by wealthy Japanese upon their conversion. Such efforts are few in numbers, naturally, but the encouraging thing is that they do exist, and are sure to increase both in number and in power if their founders do not lose patience.

The early Puritan founders of the New England commonwealths founded a college in their first generation, "first flower of their wilderness, star of their night;"— the sons of such sires took their ideals to the Orient and made Christian schools centres of Christian energy. Without burdening our pages we may sum up the positive gains from these teachers as taking the form of collectivities and of men strong enough to stand alone and to dare to be true to their convictions in the face of an indifferent or a hostile world. This is far, very far, from being all that should be said. But even if it were all, the forming, training, and fostering of this virile type of Christian manhood in a society so deeply steeped in feudal submissiveness as the Japanese has been so long, would justify the efforts made and excite admiration.

Until the treaties were revised in 1899, foreigners were not permitted to go more than twenty-five miles from the treaty ports without special passports, whose validity was limited to specified districts and were

for three months only. There were some relaxations granted in 1872, but exasperating conditions might at any time arise at the will of the officials. An instance of this is given from the journal of Mr. Raphael Pumpelly, who in 1862 visited Japan under engagement with the Japanese government as a mining engineer to report upon the possibilities of introducing scientific methods in the gold and copper mines already producing. He and some friends set out to visit the region to the west of Yokohama. Reaching a mountain village, "whose main street went directly up the declivity by a series of narrow steps and terraces, up this difficult road we urged our horses. our surprise not a child followed us and the few people we passed continued their occupations without looking up. This was so unusual that we were at a loss to understand the reason, till on applying at the first inn we were refused admittance. The hostess met us at the door and informed us that her husband being away at Yedo, and there being absolutely nothing to eat in the house, and no servants, and the house being repaired, it would be impossible to receive us, but we would find accommodation a little farther up the street. So we climbed a hundred steps or more to the next inn. Here the hostess appeared and regretted the impossibility of entertaining us. Her husband had died that day, but there was a much better place a little higher up. Although it was raining furiously and we were already drenched to the skin, we rode perseveringly up stairs. Nearly half a mile of climbing up the slippery stones brought us

to the evening, but no nearer bed. Every inn seemed to have been suddenly visited by an afflicting angel, prostrating the proprietor, till in one place the gates were rudely shut in our faces and we were warned off." Then they returned to the scene of their first repulse where "by persuasive politeness the point was carried, and once in we were treated well not only by the hostess but by the landlord also," who had probably come back "from Yedo"!

The next morning they set out on foot to climb the mountain, but after they had gone a little way, "we found ten or twelve officials drawn up in a line near an inn. With a great many bows they pointed to an open door and pressed us to enter and take some refreshments; entering, tea and confectionery were ordered, and produced so quickly that it was evident they had planned the whole thing before hand. We asserted our right to travel twenty-five miles from the port; they that their instructions were to consider this the extreme limit, as it was twenty-five miles by the road." Naturally the tourist yielded. "In descending our attention was drawn toward a group of fifteen or more representations of the phallus. They were of sandstone and stood erect around a central column. The phallus evidently entered largely into the symbols of the popular religion, if one might judge from the great number of representations of it exposed for sale." This is a genuine snap-shot of that early period before "snap-shots" were dreamed of.

It was not until the new Constitution was pro-

claimed that religious liberty was granted to Japanese subjects. The earlier cessation of the inquisition and removal of actual liability to persecution brought so great a sense of freedom both to foreigners and Japanese as to appear like freedom's very self. A perfect furore for western knowledge seemed to seize the whole nation and all missionaries were beset by crowds upon crowds of inquirers, most of whom were samurai, the knightly literati who have transformed Confucian philosophy into a soldiers' code whose models are seen in the heroes of the Middle Ages.

It was Japan's good fortune that when this trial-time came she possessed such a class. They alone could dare, and it was owing to them that in all phases of reconstruction the country as a whole accepted the new relations, and undertook the new duties. All the great figures in recent years are of samurai origin. It was from their number that the first eager, inquisitive students came, it was from them too that the first converts to Christianity came. Sawabe in the Russian Mission was exactly the type of the men who overwhelmed the missionaries with questions on every imaginable subject, and some others!

Exactly as samurai were leaders in the state, so in the Christian movement samurai converted were the leaders. This was partly because their minds were open; possibly they were the first to perceive that they needed to learn something. In process of time the whole social body has felt the force of samurai ideals of loyalty, and lines of class distinction have become blurred or rubbed out, the once inert lower

masses have been energized, and, possibly better still, the old aristocracy has felt the sting of duty. It is significant that Verbeck very early opened a school in which the text-books were the New Testament and the Constitution of the United States; and no less significant that among the eager samurai who came to Verbeck were men that afterward worked, every one of them, for the reconstruction of Japan — among them one, Okuma, twice Premier of the Empire. Many Japanese in these later days have (naturally enough) thrown back into those troubled times the picture of a smoothly working government and have ascribed to their leaders of those days convictions which true historical criticism shows to have been lacking in all Orientals, and thus have denied all validity to the claim that missionary influence was felt in the new settlement. In part this denial springs from a narrow estimate of the scope of Christianity, for which the teachings of Evangelical Protestants are to blame; religion and piety being limited to personal experiences of pardon and salvation,—the corporate moment, the Gospel of the Kingdom effected through the agency of the Church being overlooked. Nevertheless even the direct teaching of Verbeck must not be over-stressed; what is significant is the fact that upon the open minds of eager learners there fell the living seed of truth.

We have been running ahead of the event in this sketch of samurai activity. The day of samurai preeminence has passed away. The State now finds capable servants drawn from all ancient orders.

the preacher of the Gospel need not assume the manner of a social superior to gain a hearing. Yet everywhere the vitality and intensity of *samurai* influence appear in unabated energy.

The ardour with which those men worked for the security and growth of the Empire gave rise to hopes and expectations of a national movement towards Christianity, even that the Empire would make Christianity the national religion. Those were crazy dreams, yet they were not so surprising as they now appear, if we take time to think of the astounding spectacle of an Asiatic nation rushing pell mell after European modes of life and re-making, after European models, the whole structure of government. Nor was it strange that so many should not divine that in no long time the mere momentum of Japan's long history was sure to overtake even the swift-footed messengers of progress and that the proclamation of the Gospel, if it were faithfully made, would inevitably arouse the natural man to resistance.

The period of preparation had drawn to its end. All signs in earth and sky seemed propitious for the happy issue of the age of toil and growth and harvest now dawning.

CHAPTER IV

WITH the abolition of the Japanese feudal system in 1872, the enforcing of the edicts against Christianity ceased, yet not until a sharp attack upon the Roman Catholics of the southwest had been made, involving the exile of hundreds of Japanese, of both sexes and of all ages. An eye-witness of the column of confessors (Rev. William Elliot Griffis, D.D.) has related to me the spectacle they presented, driven along rough mountain paths through the snow, the old men and women tottering, the women gathering the fainting children to their own frozen bosoms and trying to cover them with their tattered robes; — even the sturdy stumbling feebly on, half-starved with cold and hunger, yet all resolute and uncomplaining. Many died in this last open assault upon their faith. Such as survived endowed their fellows with an effluence from their own intrepid spirit, and we must not forget when we estimate the sum total of our spiritual forces how mighty has been the unshaken faith and courage of these unknown children of the martyrs, themselves true witnesses to the power of the Cross.

"... few, but more than wall
And rampart, their examples reach a hand
Far thro' all years, and everywhere they meet
And kindle generous purpose, and the strength
To mould it into action pure as theirs."

It was a final manifestation of the old feudal temper, impossible henceforth in the new unified nation.

The period between the abolition of feudalism and the gift to the nation of a Constitution was the time when foreign influence was at its height. In the critical period just ended when sudden and extreme changes had been forced upon the nation, accompanied by changes in the long-settled succession of the Shoguns, when fear of foreign invasion had risen like a portent spreading alarm and dissension and bringing forth a fermentation of conspiracies and revolts, Tapan had learned the lesson of her weakness and in bitterness of spirit turned towards the dreaded invaders, determined to learn the secret of their might and then to repel them from the sacred soil. The government little dreamed that the feeling then prevalent of hostility to the foreigner would be transformed so speedily into admiration and that their new instructors brought knowledge of a new spirit. So it was however, and all at once the Japanese became disciples and imitators of Western civilization in all spheres and in all its phases.

How came it that so profound a philosophy as that of Buddhism was so powerless to check the movement towards Christianity? The answer lies in the question: A philosophy which reduces the world to the idea of the believer and fills the hungry heart of man with make-shifts destitute of life has no moral reserves at hand in time of sudden strain. The Buddhists failed in this emergency as they had failed time after time in earlier days. As Buddhism had been

morally and spiritually bankrupt in the sixteenth century so it was three hundred years later. This moral break-up had brought severe chastisement from the great rulers of the earlier period, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Each of these had laid heavy hands upon the degenerate Buddhist communities and stripped them of wealth and power. With the decay of the political power of the later Tokugawa had come weakening of military strength and even such martial spirit as survived in the samurai had gradually been ranged with the clans that hated the ruling House. Now that House was the great stay of Buddhism. With the fall of one came the sinking down of the other. Very soon after the restoration Buddhism was disestablished and disendowed. The Buddhist emblems were removed from the Imperial Palace, the Ryobu 1 Tem-

¹ Ryobu: Ryobu is an amalgamation of Buddhism and Shinto made in the seventh century. The native gods of Japan were treated as manifestations of one or other of the Buddhas, thus introducing into Japanese Buddhism many non-Buddhistic elements. Amida and Vairoçana, both symbolized by the sun, came to be identified with the "Heaven-shining-mighty-goddess" from whom the Imperial House claims physical descent. Buddhism, which absolutely forbids the taking of life, thus gained a god of war, Hachiman, whom Japanese bonzes could worship, and under whom they could make war to death. Hideyoshi openly avowed his desire for deification and built for himself a temple in which he was to be worshipped after his death as the new god of war, Shin Hachiman.

By Ryobu doctrine, which is pure Buddhism, there are two worlds, of which one, the world of ideas, is fixed and eternal. The material world corresponds to the world of ideas with this difference, that the changeless world of ideas may have many material counterparts in the world of form and change. Thus the gods of India may be taken as the corporeal counterparts of incorporeal truths which the Eternal Buddhas represent. The

ples were purified by the removal of Buddhist idols and the ejection of the bonzes, who lost not only most of their special privileges, but a large share of their revenues.

The missionaries of that day were men of such powers and such attainments that it is not strange that Christianity gained a hearing. As we have seen, they were besieged by inquirers eager to learn and insistent upon being answered. Nor did they fail under the strain. But most of all they tried to turn all their gifts to the service of the Church. When new converts came, these, in turn, were eager to hand on the lamp. The converts exerted an influence out of all proportion to their numbers, and, since these neophytes were already men of learning, the reproach often brought through mingled ignorance and malice that the missions gain only the ignorant or the venal, was in no way merited here. Christians were found especially among the educated classes, and they began to make themselves felt in schools, newspapers and in current literature, and in the legislature. Their numbers were swelled by men who had visited England and the United States.

It is not natural for Christians to remain apart, and speedily movements began to form not only congregations of natives but Japanese churches. In this second

same is true for the gods of China and Japan. Thus Hachiman, god of war, was in life the Emperor Ojin (16th Emperor, A.D. 270-310), the peace-loving son of the warlike Empress *Jingo*. Originally a Shinto deity, he was put into the Buddhist pantheon by the Ryobu. Here we see two transformations hard to account for.

period all the large bodies of Christians had sent representatives to Japan, who organized their congregations after the model of the bodies that had sent them forth. It is possible that here and there zealous sectarians supposed that their own structure was a finality and that therefore their disciples would be the centre round which one final Japanese church would crystallize, but for the most part the founders were wise and far-seeing enough to perceive that very few of the causes for past separations had validity in Japan, and they were venturesome enough to risk the loss of highly cherished particular tenets, and were generous enough to give to these only provisional force.

The exact meaning of this statement will better transpire if something of the difficulty under which these leaders were labouring can be shown. They were in fact asked by their converts to throw everything into the melting-pot. If old quarrels between Christian societies were not to be fought out by Japanese Christians so too the old settled data of Christian consciousness were not to be counted as of no consequence. Such sciolists appear to have assumed that by clearing dogmatic theology of such words as "Trinity," "Deity of Jesus Christ," and so on, they were preventing controversy; as a matter of fact they were not only making it possible but were inviting it. And so it was in the whole round of thought,—the Bible, its inspiration, its authority, its historical credibility; the ministry, its place, authority, channel of transmission; the Church, how far visible, its permanence, universality, relation to the State in Christian or in

pagan nations; contents of Christian doctrine; the applicability of Christian law of marriage to Japanese converts, - in short, every question that the mind can conceive and ingenuity frame into words was to be settled, if settled at all, exactly according to the mind of these recent converts. It is hard to fancy how any substance would be left in Christian teaching if all reality were thus, as by sublimation, taken from it.

The first Protestant Church in Japan was organized by Rev. James H. Ballagh of the "Reformed Church of America" on the 10th of March, 1872. Such an organization marks an epoch, but it does more; it shows that as by the working of a law of nature Christians must form a family group,—brothers must live as brothers. Even in our disunited state we try to associate.

Nevertheless though the "church" was formed there were still very few members. As late as 1876, when there were ten such organizations, there were but eight hundred.

Very early in their ministry the need of putting the Bible itself, or at any rate the New Testament, into the hands of the Japanese Christians and inquirers engaged the minds of missionaries. To some extent Chinese versions were available and were used. There is an interesting incident in the story of the life of Sawabe, the first convert of Nicolai of the Russian Mission. Many inquirers who had learned from him of the new way of life were anxious for more thorough teaching and study. Sawabe possessed one-half of a Chinese New Testament, and these new believers made copies of this half-testament.

Chinese ideographs are used in Japanese books, but the two languages differ so radically that such copies in Chinese could have no wide currency.

The difficulties of bringing out a translation of the New Testament into Japanese were enormous.

The Japanese language has two chief forms, the colloquial and the written, each with variant forms of its own. These two forms differ as widely as dancing differs from skating. Both of these pleasant arts may be called modes of locomotion, yet who would say that skill in one of itself brings skill in the other? Yet even this illustration does not make clear certain difficulties preliminary to all knowledge. In those days there were no teachers of Japanese to foreigners, and the learners had to form their own methods and invent grammars and glossaries; not even yet, after half a century is scientific guidance quite realized.

Under such circumstances the putting forth of a Japanese version of the New Testament was a venture of faith, but it was made and the year 1880 marks the publication. This version was known to be imperfect and in some places misleading, to say nothing about faults of diction and style, but it was for all that a praiseworthy effort, and the names of its editors, Verbeck, Hepburn, Brown and Greene, deserve mention. Various new translations taking this as a point of departure, have been put forth in recent years by French missionaries, Russo-Greeks, as

well as by Protestants. The whole Bible in Japanese (though unfortunately omitting the so-called Apocrypha) was published in 1888.

This period marks the opening of the first Christian school of higher learning, the Doshisha, in Kyoto. It owes its beginning to the ardent soul of a young Christian Japanese, Joseph Niishima. Niishima was a youth who had been cared for by a gentleman of Boston, who sent him to college. He had been interpreter in 1871 to Prince Iwakura, the first envoy sent by the Imperial government to Europe and America. He perceived the pressing need of advanced education for the young men of Japan who were answering the divine call to the ministry, and presented his claims and demands with so much force and passion to the American Board as to draw out the needed subventions, and inspired such permanent interest in the American donors as insured the further development of the school into its present status as a university.

Bishop Williams of the American Church founded in this period in Tokyo St. Paul's School, which has grown by a natural growth into a university, placing it under the care of Rev. Clement T. Blanchet. The Bishop needed a school of general education for his catechists and candidates for Holy Orders, and also for the general education, under Christian control, of Japanese laymen. It is impossible to speak of all the schools which have been founded in Japan, and therefore in speaking here of St. Paul's it should be regarded as in a general way typical of its class.

At first mission schools were merely a means of reaching Japanese youth. Some for this very reason have criticized them as dishonest. There is little force in the criticism, for it was always perfectly understood,—the game was open. Boys wanted to learn English, they could learn it cheaply and easily by going where missionaries could influence them to become Christians; their parents took the risk, and therefore a mission school which taught English well and was fairly good in other respects was sure of gaining plenty of students. Gradually, as the national schools became more numerous and better, the men in the upper years sought for higher studies, suited to their needs and to their riper minds. Thus a college course grew into light. It soon became clear that this should be maintained and made the special aim of the school. This made a new problem, or a new necessity,—to bring St. Paul's into touch with the Japanese educational system. "It was" (to use the words of the Principal of St. Paul's at a later critical time) "exceedingly difficult for students to get into the government colleges, which could receive only a fraction of the applicants unless they were graduates of Middle Schools, and all but impossible to get into the University except from the government colleges. The pivot on which the whole Japanese system of higher education turns is the Middle School. To attain the aim sought, the lower classes of our school had to be remodelled to conform to the Middle School curriculum as prescribed by the Department of Education, and next to obtain a Middle School license from the government, which alone gave the postponement of conscription necessary to students who desired to go on to the higher education. It was easy to remodel the system, but there was opposition to the asking for the license because of the restrictions on religious teaching and worship which the license involved. Finally the Bishop assented; the application was made, which after considerable time was granted."

The same conditions were found all through the Empire, affecting schools founded by missions. All the strong missions of every name and principle have these schools, and all of them have had, on the whole, the same life-history.

The French Roman Catholics have possessed the advantage of being able to draw upon great teaching Communities, of both men and women, for supplies of highly trained teachers. Such not only bring technical efficiency and fine personal distinction, but they secure the schools from the lapses which are liable to occur in schools dependent upon volunteers for their teaching staffs, as well as maintaining the schools according to the plans and purposes of the mission. They have a place all through the Orient which no other schools even care to obtain, and the best of their pupils bear a cultural mark upon their minds at once distinct and ineffaceable.

The Russo-Greek mission school in Tokyo after the war with Japan took a long step forward. Russian boys were brought to Tokyo to live with the Japanese boys in the school. There they pursue all

their studies through the Japanese, living exactly the same life as their school-mates, and thus are trained for future missionary work in full conformity to Japanese home-life. Such a method for training men for life as missionaries is so bold as to deserve heeding. How far it can be safely followed is uncertain. If the natural characteristics of the Russian youth can be kept while they are being trained, much might be said for it. But this is the crucial point, and the outcome cannot yet be known. These boys were in school at Tokyo at the time of the Russian downfall, still too young for ordination.

It may be worth noting that the children of Protestant missionaries, daughters especially, often devote themselves to the same work as their parents and by their greater insight into the character of the people among whom they live, to say nothing of their knowledge of the languages in use, exemplify the advantages of similar experience, even if not carried out so radically. The mission of St. Patrick was another instance of the method of transplanting young men (even as he was transplanted by enslavement) of Christian tribes among a heathen people.

It is well understood that throughout the Orient women have always been kept in a state of seclusion among the higher classes and as a menial among the lower classes. In each class their mental development was relatively retarded. The case was much the same in Japan as in India and China, yet with some alleviations. Everywhere therefore in the East access to the women has been more difficult than to the men.

There is no such social life at all in the East as we in our western world enjoy. The training women received was carefully measured out to secure their subordinate position along with a meagre supply of knowledge. Under such a system of education, even at its best and highest reach, woman remained where

she has been for ages - a subject creature however

fondly she was loved.

When the missionaries reached Japan they brought a message of freedom and hope to women. It was needed, however difficult it might be to make it effective. For some centuries the state of subjection in which they had lived had not been one in which they were without honour, yet had gradually become one which threatened actual degradation and disgrace. Women had been trained in a doctrine of filial duty which made them willing victims of selfish parents who did not hesitate to sell their daughters' virtue outright or to make their bodies the pledges of payments for debts; a hideous and disgraceful state which even yet has not come to an end.

Naturally, the missionaries at once tried to bring the Gospel within the reach of women, and schools for girls were very early founded in the Capital itself. The example given by these schools was a powerful influence in the development of the modern system in Japan of education for both girls and boys. Another influence in the formation of opinion favourable to the education of the women was the spectacle which the keen-eyed envoys from Japan saw in Europe and America of refined and cultured women,

the equals in accomplishment of the men. The contrast between such women and the most charming of their own women was too striking not to be felt, and it speaks volumes for their own sound sense that they heeded the lesson and early took pains to remedy the wrong. It was high time that something was done to emancipate women. Japan could never have done so much for the real, vital, spiritual good of the people if the women had not been lifted out of their state of disadvantage. This state is well indicated by the words of the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1873:

"Japanese women are destitute of understanding." It is the relatively backward state of the women which makes necessary the careful training of a double set of workers among them,— foreign women teachers and Japanese mission women. It is said of them, speaking in general terms, that they have been so long without their divine birthrights that their faculties have been as it were stunted, with the effect that they seem to lack character in its broadest sense. This makes them timid and clinging to such a degree as to awaken a deep feeling of pity. In brief then, the work of the woman missionary is to stimulate the women, create ambition in them and help them develop what is latent in them; not that this can always be done, for in some the will has suffered atrophy, in other cases they remain moral cowards.

The most successful form of work among them is that which appeals to the artistic or imitative faculties and to their willingness to help. Yet though they, from habit of surrender, easily follow hints given and show interest, the influence upon them is probably not deep nor lasting. Their response, then, is probably one of politeness or of courtesy, in which they almost never fail. Perseverance and boundless patience and self-control are requisites for success, because aggressiveness is fatal, and over-eagerness and impatience. It is this necessary slowness which brings about need for the native woman worker. She is the medium of communication in each direction. The average Japanese household differs widely from the Japan seen by the tourist, and into these homes it may not be

wise for the foreign woman worker to enter,—not even after long acquaintance. The social interchanges and intimacies to which Anglo-Saxons are so accus-

tomed are not habitual in Japan and cannot be forced. In speaking of work for women by women, another variety of work by women missionaries may be treated here,— work for men. It is not usually understod that there is such work. The reasons for it lie in two far-apart principles. One is that in the East men are so much more important than women; their influence is so far reaching that through them families are reached more certainly.

Another reason alleged for sending women to work among men finds its explanation in the Japanese judgment on the character of foreign male missionaries, who are thought to be hard and unsympathetic towards the short-comings of Japanese men. On this account they turn to women with their confidences, and so obtain the needed sympathy and counsel, without loss

of their own pride. It is believed, too, by some workers of experience that the depth of sentiment in the Japanese is more easily and more perfectly unlocked by women missionaries, and that in the company of refined and intelligent European women the Japanese man can escape from the sex idea which pervades his relations with women of his own people.

Whatever final truth there may be in these views as to Japanese psychology they come with the weight of many common experiences of workers among the Japanese. There is very likely a certain degree of mutual misunderstanding in these contrasting views. The strong missions set up one girl's school after another, choosing points which might be called strategic. Of course in central points such as Tokyo and large ports like Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki, as well as some other important centres, these schools are duplicates of others set up by different missions, but as a rule towns were chosen wherein no such mission schools were before, and thus the schools become lighthouses for considerable areas.

The Japanese deeply resent imputations upon their good name, and have done their best to prove that they are as much alive to all the demands of the spirit of progress as any people in the world, and this holds good of schools for girls. They have done nobly too. If the government is unwilling to admit that Christianity was the most potent of the forces making for improvement we can pass over the slight without rancour, and rejoice in all that has been done. At any rate it is not at all to the disadvantage of mission schools that a complete network of government schools is spread over the whole land, but rather for their good; it keeps mission teachers alert to the needs of the hour, it tends to keep them from sinking into the slough of complacency, and the system forces them to emphasize the evangelistic element. After all, the Christian people who support mission schools are in no way under obligation to help Japan educate Japanese boys and girls; to make mission schools mere replicas of Japanese schools is worse than folly. It is of course essential that these schools for girls should be carried on by women missionaries, and by them alone. The forming of character is a work for personality alone, and nothing but the intimacy of association in life can give scope for the play of personality. The contributions which have been made and which have gone into the shaping of Christian schools for well nigh two generations would win wreaths of honour had they been made in any other field of life. Those patient workers of early days have almost all passed on, not asking for reward or need of praise, yet

> "Somewhere, surely, afar In the sounding labour-house vast Of being, is practised that strength, Zealous, beneficent, firm."

And it is no strange growth that from these schools for girls the movement goes on for the emancipation of women, for their freedom from shame.

CHAPTER V

THE industrial development of Japan has been amazing. Probably no one could measure its marvellous and varied extent who had not some experience of life in the east of Asia as a framework for comparison. The traveller from Europe or America who sees the forest of smoking chimneys, visits the vast and wellequipped factories or mills simply beholds scenes familiar to his eyes; all that is strange is the workers. Such a one cannot see the inner differences which make it all "a wonder." But in sober truth Japan is advancing in the ways of industrialism, but the advance is made at a terrible cost; at the cost of a drain upon the vital forces of the nation. There has been a steady flow into the factories and sweat-shops of young peasant girls. Upon them there has scarcely been exercised the least care or supervision. The hours of toil permitted have not been less than fourteen a day. Little heed is given to their need of rest, or cleanliness, or of proper food. Wages are very low, and the greedy exploiters of human flesh have been suffered to treat the supplies of young workers as inexhaustible. The victims soon break down and easily succumb to consumption, or fall into vicious ways through lack of protection. Factory laws have been passed, but their operation has been postponed year

after year. Even if they had been made effective their provisions for the safeguarding of health and protection are almost all vitiated by other provisions which in certain cases permit the very acts prohibited in other clauses. So the Factory Law does not properly settle any question as to age, sex, nightwork, or hours of labour. The workers, besides, are forbidden to form unions. Here is a wide field for education, as yet scarcely entered except by Christian employers and a few enlightened companies. The case of one Christian employer, Mr. Ohara of Okayama, illustrates a widely differing method of dealing with the question of labour. His large factory is equipped with all the most recent appliances. He looks, personally, after the welfare of the women in his employ, secures for them clean and commodious quarters with baths and rooms for rest and recreation, pays them wages on a higher scale than is current, shortens the day's work and gives them free medical attention. He has also founded a farm colony in which his operatives may secure freehold rights on easy terms. He provides interesting and refined amusements and even supports a newspaper which is published without the page, which even the ablest Japanese newspapers spread before the readers, filled with outrageous and disgraceful details. His operatives know that he is a Christian and that his work is carried on from Christian principles, but, except for preachings, which they are left free to attend or not, he attempts no propaganda work and puts no moral pressure upon the men to force their inclinations.

Such work as his cannot be called technically a missionary work, yet without Christian education it could never have come into being in quite its actual form. Nothing but religious principle could give rise to bitter abhorrence of the meanness which defiles our modern social life, and to generous anger at the pitiful way in which civilization and culture have been limited, and inspire in him so wise and firm a will to help the helpless to a better order and lead them to freedom.

Instances of the practical working out of Christian teaching might be cited in other fields. This particular instance has been given to show certain valuable qualities in the character of the Japanese people, qualities which only need vitalizing to make them the ready agents by whom the whole Eastern world shall become Christian. They have long been credited with eager curiosity to know; what should be understood of this curious, prying, impatient mood is that it is the sign of a strong intelligence which is capable of grasping instruction firmly. To this intellectual power there is added manliness which is capable of making ventures and of bearing the strains of trial with cheerfulness, and a habit of self-mastery which their long training in ways of obedience has made for them a sort of second nature. There are some deductions to be made from this favourable estimate of their power of comprehending instruction, because in practice, owing to lack of depth in their new masters, they have seldom gone below the surface of things, and are very likely to be quite complacent over their perception of fundamentals. The fact remains that, even after this

castigation, whenever a master mind has worked upon them they have followed understandingly; not beyond but up to his measure.

Another form of social upbuilding is seen in the Rescue Work which the Salvation Army carries on with earnestness and intense zeal,—although "The Army" was far from being the first to try to save the slaves of lust and greed.

It is well understood that in most Japanese towns a region is set apart for licensed houses of prostitution. These quarters usually pass by the name of *Yoshiwara*, from the name of the best known such place in Tokyo.

The inmates of these inns include girls who have been surrendered by their parents or natural guardians to make payment by the hire of their bodies for advances of money. The masters of these places contrive to keep their inmates in debt, although a law forbids them holding them against their will if their debts are all paid. The Salvation Army has taken up the gauge for the girls and in person invades the quarters seeking to encourage them to escape. The peculiarity of the situation lies in the adverse influences against which they must struggle. Public opinion has not been formed so as to continue to make war against these shocking conditions. Intermittently there is discussion in the papers, quite as often as not from mere lack of anything else to say as in real interest in reform. Officials are, notoriously, slow to move, and will not move in this matter until the Japanese people are stirred out of their carelessness. A great fire early in the twentieth century destroyed the great Yoshi-

wara of Tokyo, and for a while there seemed to be hope that it would not be rebuilt. Nothing came of the petitions sent in protestation against the renewal, and the quarter stands today. But this is not all. There is no need for any one who does not live in that part of the town to come within range of that Yoshiwara. There are other quarters, one of them lining a chief thoroughfare with houses on each side, whose very look advertises their quality to the eyes of even strangers. Yet this street leads to one of the largest of the railway stations, and just beyond the limit of these houses is the principal entrance to an imperial palace. The strange indifference of the Japanese public to this open disgrace proves the strength of custom. No doubt the system is so old as to be a mere shell, full of dry-rot, and only in appearance capable of resisting serious attack. The trouble is that women have so long been kept in a state of tutelage that they have no training in moral aggressiveness. Custom overrides law, and woman still is roughly pushed to one side. She has hardly learned even to feel resentment at such treatment. There is a second stage in Rescue Work carried on — the founding of Rescue Homes or Houses of Refuge in which the women who have fled from brothels are sheltered, protected, tenderly cared for, and gently led into a life of virtue. It is probable that the proportion of such recoveries is greater in Japan than in European penitentiaries, owing, in some measure perhaps, to the fact that by the conventional ethical positions of the Japanese those who violate the laws of the social order are less deeply branded with

the mark of disgrace than is the case in America and Europe. Women who so sin are not counted as lost irreparably. Not that there is much help in such a position for those who seek redemption, although we may admit that the tone of good-natured easy tolerance of human weakness (which is about the best that can be said for Japanese morality) may, for Japanese women, be more effectual than the severity of Occidentals. The Japanese mentality on both sides has to be considered.

The subject is well understood to be one of the most difficult of moral problems, involving many elements and forces so various in scope and so delicate and complicated in action as to make the whole matter infinitely complex and baffling. No general law or method has come to light which can be applied to society in general. But if we limit our inquiry to particular cases it can be said with truth that no one could deal with them with richer sympathy, more patient and persevering kindness, and with warmer hopefulness and good cheer than these Rescue Workers in Japan. Of them it may also be remarked that in their ministrations they do not slip into the snare of flabby sentimentality. They are quite wide awake to the moral degeneracy of their "penitents" and are well aware that their loss of self-control shows itself in outbursts of passion, ingratitude, stubborn resistance to good and every kind of deceit and trickery, making sternness and resoluteness in dealing with them quite as necessary as gentleness and patience.

Returning once again to our line of advance, it is

time to note the progress of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission.

At the time of the Imperial Restoration Nicolai was in Russia, where he was raised to the rank of Archimandrite. He asked for the help of priests in his mission work, but the only one who offered himself fell ill on the way out and never reached Japan. He interpreted events as providential, throwing him back upon the Japanese for the work to be done. Before leaving Japan he had prepared a set of rules for a society of evangelists he hoped to form. One of these rules was that "the evangelists shall teach Christian truth to other people while they continue to study it for themselves." The Archimandrite made his inquirers into a sort of class in which he taught them Christian doctrine. Then came a great movement at Sendai, where the houses of converts became preaching places, visited daily by large numbers of inquirers. In less than a year there were in Sendai twenty whole families that were Christian, and over a hundred others in which were one or more believers. About two hundred persons had accepted Christianity, although not many were baptized until 1875.

In 1872 Father Nicolai removed to Tokyo, having given up his consular chaplaincy, and at once sent word to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of his intention henceforth to reside in that city. He began looking for a site for the central church he needed and which he determined should be built. At last he found a piece of ground at Surugadai, a site commanding a wide prospect over the extensive plain on which the mercantile and artisan classes live. But he was not minded to build a mere wooden shell after the mean and ugly fashion affected by American Protestants; nothing unworthy of its sacred purpose would content him. Having no means for building rightly he did not build at all, but began to live in one of the rather dirty buildings standing on the ground which had been leased by the Russian Legation and placed at the disposal of Nicolai. He gathered students about him whom he quartered near by.

Most of these fellows came - as they frankly allowed — for secular instruction, but to such as were ready to listen he taught the Gospel, and in September, 1872, ten were baptized.

Nicolai was the most notable figure in missionary circles in Tokyo and became the subject of all sorts of rumours. He was said to be a member of the Russian Imperial family; he was a Russian spy; he was really acting as a Christian teacher, but his ulterior design was to prepare for the conquest of Japan by western powers. The government suspected him of political designs, and several spies entered his school to keep More than one of these became Christians.

Preaching-halls were opened in different parts of Tokyo, the work being in the hands of Japanese who had been taught by Nicolai. Thence the work spread farther south and reached the great cities. In 1874 a conference was held and new rules were drawn up. The evangelists were arranged in two classes, evangelists and assistants, and their work and stipends

settled. Their chief work, of course, was to preach the Gospel, but it was also provided that in their spare time they might do any kind of work and by their industry furnish a good example. The plans embraced provisions for the choosing of evangelists, for schools for men and women, for the care of the poor and sick, for the instruction of catechumens, for mission tours, and other necessary affairs. In Père Nicolai's first rules it was stated that when the number of the baptized should reach five hundred one of the evangelists should be ordained. In 1875 a Russian Bishop paid a visit to Hakodate and at that time Paul Sawabe (Nicolai's assailant and first convert) was ordained priest, and his friend Dr. Sakai deacon. The new priest had the joy that same year of baptizing one hundred and twenty-five of the Sendai converts.

The greatest progress of the mission was in the region centring about Sendai. The number of the believers and their influence steadily increased, and in 1876 the entire support of an evangelist was assumed by the Christians of that city. Other evangelists were anxious to support themselves, using their spare time for preaching. Nicolai induced them to see that although it was laudable in them to wish not to be chargeable to any, it was better to use all their time for the work of the ministry.

By 1880 there were eleven native priests and one hundred and six evangelists and nearly 9000 baptized converts. Nearly 1400 had been baptized the previous year. There were 148 churches and 110 church buildings.

In 1880 Nicolai was consecrated bishop, and he began the erection of the church on the site at Surugadai which he had chosen in 1872. He desired a temple "exceeding magnifical" and one worthy of its purpose. The ground was lofty, but before the domed church could be placed upon it and made secure from earthquakes, a very large sum had to be expended in the construction of a great stone platform. All the money for the building and its furnishings and ornaments, including bells, iconostasis, and the like was raised in Russia, many persons making special gifts.

The church is spacious, the eastern end divided from the main area by a gilded and richly painted iconostasis. There is a spire with bells at the west end. The glass in the tall windows is all plain, and a flood of daylight pours in from these as well as from the windows in the lofty dome that crowns the central space. There are no seats except a hinged bench at the western end of the nave. Above the western entrance is a singers' gallery for special occasions. There is no organ, but none is needed, for the choir has been well taught by a Russian deacon, and the tide of song rises in rich and thrilling harmony, the music of the Holy Eastern Church which has never been affected by western secular modes.

The liturgical services are translations from the Old Church Slavonic forms used in Russia of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, somewhat adapted for Japanese use, though substantially without alteration. The language is not the current Japanese, but bears

much the same relation to that as the language of the English Book of Common Prayer bears to modern "journalistic English." The Archbishop chose a diction that should be somewhat archaic and abounding in Chinese terms in order to avoid the hald familiarities of the modern style.

The great advance of the Russian Mission came during the period when Japan was enthusiastic for everything Occidental. All the well-served missions shared in this growth which, naturally, kindled hope of conversions by millions.

There is not much chance of comparing the Russian Mission with other missions; the elements for useful comparison and judgment are too scanty and too uncertain for one to feel he is on firm ground. For this very reason so much space has been devoted to it. There is no other mission which has possessed a founder who was a missionary genius; such was Nicolai. No other mission has worked through the Japanese in such measure or has secured such unquestioned fidelity in its converts and ministers.

In numbers the Orthodox Church reports adherents fewer only than the Roman Catholics under the French clergy. They now reach about 36,000. They are strongest where Nicolai began, in the northeast.

Archbishop Nicolai is so great a figure that he must have special attention. To speak of him as an apostle is to sum up in a word all that he did, all that he was. Only a man of extraordinary natural gifts could recognize a call to evangelize a whole nation. Only

a man of spiritual genius could act in his office with such simplicity. An instance of his courage, creditable alike to him in venturing and to the Japanese government in suffering it, is seen in his determination to remain in his place in Tokyo during the war of Japan with Russia. It was a tremendous venture of faith, and one never seen, I believe, in the history of the world before. In daring to do this he took alike the true measure of the Japanese and the true meaning of missionary life. I shared in the Easter Liturgy in 1904, when the strain of the war was most felt, and that long service beginning at midnight and lasting till dawn showed how he was esteemed by his Japanese children. The great church was thronged with Japanese who knew him as the common father.

Two qualities stand out in his life. One was his perfect fidelity to the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church from which he had received the episcopate. He counted her as Christ's own agent for the upbuilding of His glorious kingdom.

With most men such a temper would bring stiffness and stolidity, and such devotion to tradition would issue in blind and bitter intolerance. It was not so with our great-hearted shepherd. His quick sensitiveness to the feelings and moods of others and his own purity of purpose opened his eyes to the value of other men's work.

So then we reach the other point to which I would draw attention: his generous sympathy for all who name the name of Christ, his warm heart of love for all who serve Christ. In Japan he met every type of missionary, every type of religious and moral teaching, every type of missionary ideal. Some of these must have affected him unpleasantly, yet he found a way of blessing every honest effort of every servant of God.

He died February 16th, 1912, after nearly fifty-two years of strenuous missionary activity. His work lasted until the very end. He did a vast work of scriptural translation upon which he was engaged when his last illness necessitated his removal from his residence to the hospital of the American Church. Once relieved there and learning that he might live three weeks he simply said that he had about two weeks' work to do on his translation, and at once returned to his home, where he took up his work, which he never dropped until it was completed; then came his own exodus.

I have disclaimed all right to compare or to make forecasts. One remark may be hazarded. The Japanese are always talking about the necessity of missionaries helping to form a purely Japanese church which shall embrace all Japanese believers, or at least does not so work as to exclude any Japanese. No such body has yet come into sight, although there are unions and federations working to bring into being such a society. Yet in the Eastern Church there is a true church almost wholly Japanese. Could there be found a better centre of crystallization than this Japanese Church founded by Nicolai? And under Archbishop Nicolai's worthy successor, Archbishop Sergius, the Church remains true to type.

The Roman Catholic Missions, which are served by the *Missionnaires Apostoliques* from the famous centre in Paris, gained a great development in the period following the Restoration.

Doubtless there was a certain amount of prestige, not unmixed with anxiety, for the French missionaries from the splendour of the court of the Emperor Napoleon III, then at its height of influence. No other missionary enterprise in those days even approached the French Mission, which outnumbered any other and which had a body of thoroughly trained and disciplined clergy, professionally efficient, and free from family entanglements. They had moreover a nucleus of old Christians, several thousand in number, about whose mettle and temper there could be no question; upon these Japanese they could rely for anything demanding firmness of faith. There are qualifications and deductions to be made from this survey of the spiritual capital within reach of the missionaries from France.

A community which has been forced by harsh treatment and unrelaxing persecution to flee the light of day possesses indeed strength without limit for resisting pressure,—little, however, of the spirit of adventure. There is an example of the disposition which adversity forms in characters in the English Roman Catholics before the conversion of Newman,—the "old Catholics," as they were called. Newman himself speaks of them as a people who fled from the light, gens lucifuga, who asked, even when better days came, not to be disturbed. They resented the

brisk and eager ways of the Oxford converts. Such a people draw in, reduce their claims to a minimum, explain, defend, justify their rights to bare existence. indeed they seek little more, and become suspicious of enthusiasts. Such a body makes for conservatism and forms the best of solid foundations, but it lacks view and sympathy, it fails in boldness, adaptability, alertness. Consequently until this day the characteristic of the Roman Catholic Missions has been, on the whole, one of conservatism. It might even be said that compared with the self-advertising ways and the habits taken over from modern commercial or industrial life they are backward. I speak of methods only, because actually they are in no way behind any other mission in the attention they give to the auxiliary works of education, hospitals, orphanages, trainingschools, and charity, in all of which they are well to the front if not actually in the van. Their staff is much larger than that of any other mission. Their clergy come out after a long course of careful preparation for missionary life. There are a number of teaching communities served by Religious, and they possess some scholars of exceptional ability and power who reach positions of influence in educational circles unapproached by many others.

They have diocesan bishops in the chief cities, with an Archbishop "of Tokyo" in the Capital. In more recent years clergy of other nations have come to the aid of the French; Spanish Dominicans in one region, even (before the war of 1914) the German Societas Verbi Dei, and, lastly the Jesuits who, after three

centuries, have returned to the Orient and opened a house of the Society in Tokyo. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have come with them.

In numbers the Roman Catholics far exceed any other mission, yet to the general public they scarcely exist. There is, moreover, comparatively little intimacy between even the Japanese converts they make and the others. As to them, the Japanese Romanists might be said to be the bloc inaltérable et intraitable which keeps the Japanese Christians from melting into one uniform mass. On this point there can be hardly room for question that if the Japanese Protestants should succeed in combining on even terms all the converts who at present gather round the different American and English missions, sweeping in also weakly held converts from the French and Russian missions, there would be so much of compromise in theology, so much nationalism in temper, and so much pragmatism in purpose, as would seriously endanger the evangelical spirit of the church. Notwithstanding the acquaintance of the Japanese for over half a century with European Christians the government schools still keep something of the old Fixed Idea that the Catholics want to master the country, or at any rate, that the early missionaries did. It has been a standard charge that those missionaries engaged in political intrigue and desired to establish foreign that is, Spanish - domination, a charge which Protestants have been prone to repeat on no better ground than hearsay. Of it we may say in the words of Dr. George William Knox, a Presbyterian missionary for over fifteen years, that "there is no proof that such designs were seriously entertained."

A Japanese Christianity ought to be formed, or rather, Japan ought to become Christian through the conversion of the mass of the people. The social regeneration of the nation can only be effected through the co-operation of all the Christians, and in that Japan must use the spiritual energies of the Catholic religion. There is far, far too much of the old *idée fixe* in all groups of believers for healthy amalgamation at present, and it is providential that the firm mass of the Roman Catholic group refuses to be assimilated to the looser heaps on the terms available, and it is the logic of facts instead of deliberate reasoning which keeps the Japanese unionists from carrying out their well-meant but perilous dream.

In a happier age, an age when mistrust and fear did not pervade nations and peoples and religious societies, one might say that of all people in the world to bring the Japanese to Christ the French are the most likely to find points of spiritual and vital union. This is so, not so much from conditions on the surface such as suavity, grace of manner, love of beauty, patriotism, as from the deeper qualities of soul, perceptiveness, strong logical mind, clarity of vision, practicality. In these there is singular agreement. When we add to these common endowments the pressure by the French of their idealistic, missionary temper, that which in sober fact makes France the greatest missionary nation in the whole world, what possibilities rise before the mind!

86 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

The professional American or English missionary with register for measuring spiritual force, his filing cabinet, his vocabulary of phrases, and all his apparatus for securing technical efficiency has shoved the old-fashioned missionary with his umbrella, Bible and hymn-book out of sight. He has elbowed the French missionary from the centre of the stage, and, being a master of the art of advertising, he has claimed the undivided attention of the English-speaking world. Has he equalled the one in evangelical ardour, or come up to the French missionary in spiritual aptitude?

CHAPTER VI

The American Presbyterian Missionaries came to Japan among the first to enter the open field of Japan, when J. C. Hepburn, M.D., settled at Kanagawa. A Buddhist temple cleared of its idols was obtained as a residence and also used as a church. The missionaries found the people civil and friendly, inquisitive, bright, eager to learn. There was no decided opposition from the government, which, however, kept them under constant surveillance and had all their movements reported to the rulers. Dr. Hepburn, as a medical practitioner, found an easy opportunity for personal relations with the Japanese; he could not get on his way as a messenger of Christ. This was in October, 1859. Other stations were opened a month later, when Dr. Guido Verbeck settled in Nagasaki.

In a year or two the Japanese authorities became unwilling for the further residence of foreigners at Kanagawa. This was the period of the great strain upon the Shogunate government. The faction which sought to overthrow the Shogunate altogether was seizing every opportunity to harass the hated foreigner. Violent agitation was felt from one end of the empire to the other.

Meanwhile difficulties with Europeans were multiplying. So little security was given by the actual government that the foreign Envoys seldom appeared at Yedo. Most of them lived at Kanagawa. place was, however, too near the Shogun's Capital, and besides, was too near the highway into the interior. The government would have been only too happy to see the foreigners abandon Kanagawa and settle in Yokohama - only a mile or two away and a site which could easily be turned into a blind pouch; communications thence were difficult except on one side, and it would have been easy to cut off these. Police guards multiplied in number at Kanagawa "in order to protect foreigners." A great palisade fifteen or twenty feet high was raised between the town and the great high road "to guarantee the dwellings of the foreign residents against surprises from an irritated people." No occasion was lost of repeating that if they would remove to Yokohama they would have nothing more to fear!

The English Legation was attacked and two of the household were killed; the assassins escaped. A strong Japanese guard posted near the Legation compound had seen no one, heard no one. Explanations when demanded by the English Envoy were vague and equivocal. The Envoy withdrew to Yokohama, and all the foreigners except the American consul did the same. Still there remained one road open upon which the foreign residents used to ride. as by the terms of the treaties they were entitled to do. On the 14th of September, 1862, as four of these residents, including one lady, were riding along the road they came full upon the train of the chief steward

of the Lord of Satsuma (Satsuma was the greatest of all the daimyo and had been the leader in the anti-foreign intrigue), and drew to one side to allow passage for the cavalcade. But a man-at-arms rode up and made a cut at the lady with his long sword, which she contrived to elude. Her companions came to her help. In the mêlée one of them, named Richardson, was cut to pieces and left dead upon the road. The excitement in the little foreign community rose to boiling, and the difficulties with which the foreign Envoys were faced may be imagined. They demanded satisfaction, but received instead a new demand that they should abandon the hill in the outskirts of Yedo which had been assigned to them for residence, upon which they had already begun to erect their official residences. The English minister refused to yield, he having been unable to obtain any reparation for the two attacks upon the Legation, nor for the slaughter of his two sentinels, nor for the murder of Mr. Richardson.

Two days later the English Legation was burnt down.

War seemed inevitable, and Japan began to make preparations for it.

It was in the midst of scenes like these and in an atmosphere so charged with alarms that the Presbyterian missionaries were removed to Yokohama. There Dr. Hepburn opened a dispensary and hospital, which he had not been allowed to do at Kanagawa. Work in the study of the language and the rough preliminary translation of the Scriptures was pushed for-

ward with great energy. The Japanese government asked Dr. Hepburn to instruct a company of Japanese youth in geometry and chemistry. He found, to his surprise, that these young men were far advanced in mathematical studies. With this instruction in English he was able to connect lessons in Christian doctrines and duties; and thus, though informally, he began to teach the Gospel.

This school, so full of promise, was soon broken up. In the disturbed state of the country the parties which were so bitterly hostile to each other were all jealous of foreign influence. The young men were called away to posts in the army, but most of them took copies of the Bible in English and Chinese. The missionaries engaged in teaching, finding some opportunities in connection with the government schools, and Dr. Hepburn was hard at work on his great dictionary of Japanese and English. The first edition of this work was published in 1867. It is a work which in one form or other has been of inestimable value not only to all missionaries, but as a foundation for all studies in the language of Japan.

By that time Dr. Hepburn was convinced that the time had come for direct work. In 1869 three converts were permitted to receive baptism, and these converts were not molested, even though the edicts against Christianity had been republished by the Emperor as soon as he was crowned. New men in considerable numbers kept on reinforcing this mission, and in consequence a new station was opened in Yedo in 1869 (on the point of becoming Tokyo) which,

as the capital of the country and the residence of the Emperor and his court, afforded a wide field of influence and usefulness. A special feature of the work was the number of young men who sought the acquaintance and instruction of the missionaries. Many of these young men were destined to fill positions of power among their countrymen.

During all the period from 1859 to 1872 the missionaries were engaged in preparatory work; there was no regular stated preaching of the Gospel to a native audience. The edicts declaring that every one accepting the "vile Jesus teaching" would be put to death were in force all over the land. Still, there was general belief that religious toleration was soon to come. The period was one of waiting and of hope, and yet it was felt by all that this state of things could not continue, it was time to try the public preaching of the Gospel.

Great events, all of them full of hope, had been witnessed. The movement for the restoration of the Mikado had succeeded and clan-loyalty had become patriotism. By a marvellous transformation the very factions which made "Expel the barbarians!" their rallying cry, had, in the hour of full success, sought eagerly for the advantages of Western science, commerce, and civilization. A Japanese embassy had visited Europe and America. A movement of students from Japan to the Western nations had begun and already the results of the changes which ensued were perceptible. A new order of things was set up in the old empire. Some of the statesmen connected

with government had been pupils of the missionaries. Others had been taught in the United States. A liberal policy was inaugurated; all connection of the State with any form of religion ceased; the notice-boards denouncing Christianity were removed, and toleration, though not yet legally granted, was practised. The calendar was changed from the old Chinese year to the Gregorian, including the weekly day of rest on Sunday.

What the missionaries with fine faith believed to be the Japanese Church arose in prayer in January, 1872, when the missionaries of several denominations united in observing a Week of Prayer. So vivid was the interest in this week that as a spiritual conference it continued until the end of February. A regularly formed "church" was organized with eleven Japanese members; all things wore a cheering aspect.

This year was also marked by the entrance of women's societies into the field of Christian work, the just claims upon them of Japanese women having awakened deep interest in the hearts of their supporters.

Two native churches were organized in Yokohama and Tokyo in the following year. In due time they were regularly received into the Presbytery, each being represented by a native elder. Not long after this eight young men upon their reception asked to be taken under the care of the Presbytery as candidates for the ministry. Thus a theological class was formed. The native churches thus begun at once

commenced sending out offshoots in small knots of believers running out into many parts of the great Capital city, and into adjoining towns. These nuclei soon developed into independent centres.

This work had so well grown and showed such plain signs of genuine life that in 1876 a movement was initiated on the part of the missionaries of the Scotch United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Dutch Church, and the American Presbyterians which looked to the adoption of the same standards, and to a closer union in church work. The result was the organization of the "United Church of Christ" in Japan, an independent, self-governing Japanese church. In 1890 the word "United" was dropped from the title. At the same time the Apostles' Creed was adopted as its Confession of Faith with a doctrinal preface:

The Lord Jesus, whom we adore as God, the only-begotten Son of God, for us men and for our salvation became man and suffered. For the sake of His perfect sacrifice for sin, he who is in Him by faith is pardoned and accounted righteous; and faith, working by love, purifies the heart.

The Holy Spirit, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified reveals Jesus Christ to the soul; and without His grace man, being dead in sin, cannot enter the Kingdom of God. By Him were the prophets and holy men of old inspired; and He, speaking in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the supreme and infallible Judge in all matters of faith and living.

From the Holy Scriptures the ancient church drew its Confession; and we, holding the faith once delivered to the saints, join in that Confession with praise and thanksgiving.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty (et rel.)."

A theological college was speedily formed, and a Japanese Board of Missions, which has carried on active work in Formosa, Manchuria and Corea.

The theological school developed and in a few years had a strong academic department, which undertakes to provide for its students a thorough education under Christian influences, and especially to train young men for the Christian ministry. This college is now called, from the Imperial reign in which it was founded, by the name of *Meiji Gakuin*, or the "College of the Era of Enlightened Rule." In 1880 the New Testament translation was finished, and in 1888 the translation of the Old Testament was accomplished. It was a great satisfaction to Dr. Hepburn and his co-labourers that he could see the completion of his great work, which is the basis or at least the point of departure for all succeeding versions.

In 1889 the Emperor solemnly conferred upon the nation the long-promised Constitution, a part of which was the abrogation of the edicts against Christianity and liberty of conscience.

Singularly enough the inevitable reaction from the furore for European things came almost at once. Violent prejudice against foreigners and foreign teachings was manifested. Attendance at mission schools fell off, and there was growing impatience of foreign control in the churches. A strong feeling arose that those who became Christians were faithless to their national traditions and could not be relied on for patriotic duty. This period of slackening interest and suspicion was pretty widely felt until the

ratification of the Revised Treaties, in 1899. During all the period of revision there was considerable excitement among conservatives lest when freedom of residence was given to foreigners they should overrun the country and the faith of the masses in Buddhism be uprooted. New educational regulations were put in force by the *Mombusho* (Department of Education) which placed all Christian schools at great disadvantage and made it necessary to close some altogether. This widespread mistrust affected all missionary work harmfully for a time, but gradually the tension relaxed and a more rational, a more healthy and balanced, sentiment took its place.

The work of the local churches is now assumed for the most part by the Japanese pastors, leaving the missionaries free to carry on new work in the city and vicinity. For many years open-air evangelistic work has been maintained at Uyeno, a very large park midway between two popular shrines and adjacent to a much-frequented railway station. Within the park itself are a great museum, a modern public library, art-schools, a small zoological garden, Tokugawa mausolea, and other attractions which draw to it vast numbers of people. The preachers by the roadside always have a hearing; many thousands are reached in this way every year.

I have given in this account of the work of the Presbyterians a fairly detailed sketch of their history because of the importance of that work and its influence upon the development of Christianity in Japan. That work is the largest in numerical results of any

single Protestant mission. Those who made it what it is as well as those who support it from home have evidenced statesmanlike foresight both in planning for work where it will be fruitful, and in wise concentration of effort upon strategic points. They have been believers in a strong doctrinal basis and in the Gospel of divine grace. They have, too, been bold enough to believe that it is the duty of Christian evangelists in a highly cultivated nation like Japan to present for acceptance a generous, ungrudging offer - a Catholic gospel. It is a striking proof of their strong faith in that gospel, of their vouthful hope, that they dared to adopt nothing less universal as their "Confession of Faith" than the Apostles' Creed, and they brought to their hearers a name which was cleared of all narrow or sectarian reminiscences and implications, the Church of Christ.

I have not the space for minute reference to the other, somewhat later developments under Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist management. All these and the others associated with them through federation exhibit the same wisdom, zeal, and energy, live spiritually under the power of the same spiritual beliefs, and show the marks of the like generous devotion to their Lord.

Some observations upon the general influence of the Congregationalists have been made earlier in this book. Concerning Methodists and Baptists enough must now be given to show their plans and methods.

A missionary had been named for Japan by American Methodists when the great Civil War began. Ow-

ing to that war it was a quarter of a century before a mission to Japan could be formed. The two chief branches of the main trunk of Methodists in America, the Northern and the Southern, practically combined in this work and in 1886 their staff of workers arrived in Japan. They thus began when the ebb tide away from foreign supremacy had begun to run strongly, and their work from its outset suffered from the growing impatience against foreigners. It speaks volumes for the courage and patience of their workers that they could make notable progress notwithstanding the special hindrances and that the missionaries have been settled so widely, and, like the Presbyterians, at cardinal points. All the various branches of Methodism are co-operating, and doing so in the spirit of those indomitable pioneers of the message of "free grace and undying love for sinners" who in the formative days of the American republic made their way to the most remote back-woodsman's hut.

They have founded schools, excellent schools, in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hiroshima (a great naval station, like Portsmouth or Cherbourg) and Nagasaki.

In 1907 the Methodists formed an independent Japanese Methodist Church. The missions remained apart, but the self-supporting and the partially selfsupporting congregations were organized into an independent communion. All chapels under the direct control of the missions are turned over to this Japanese Church as soon as they reach a certain degree of self-maintenance. All communicants received in these chapels are baptized as members of the Japan

Church. The missions appropriate funds for their own evangelistic activities and contribute an annual subsidy to the Japanese Church to supplement the funds raised by that body.

The Methodists are said to be foremost in founding Sunday Schools, the total enrolment exceeding 35,000.

It is said by Methodists themselves that they have not developed evangelistic enterprise on the scale to be expected from a consideration of the history of Methodism in the home lands, but the probabilities are that while this, construed in a narrow sense, is true, evangelism with them, as in all other communities, has multiplied agencies and goes on unchecked through social reforms.

The Baptists began much earlier, in 1872, and settled in Tokyo in 1874. They specially emphasized direct preaching to the people, and for many years almost all of their missionaries were entirely engaged in such work, and even to the present time this may be said to hold the foremost place, lagging behind other denominations in educational work because of the stress on evangelism. An exception is the Girls' Schools in which most of the unmarried women missionaries live.

They soon planned for a regular chain of stations throughout the whole length of the empire, which has in great measure been accomplished.

An interesting and picturesque feature is the work among the islanders, especially among the hundreds of islets sprinkled over the surface of the Inland

Sea. This islanders' mission was carried on for twenty years by a former sea-captain, Captain Bickel, in a vessel named Fukuin-Maru (or Gospel Ship). The great islands of the Loochoo group, and other large islands of the Southwest have been strongly held by Roman Catholics for centuries. But these all but innumerable islands of the Inland Sea (to use the name given by Europeans) have, I believe, no other evangelists than those who came in the Gospel Ship.

In these glances at different missions we have sought no object beyond the general one of bringing into range the movement of Christian forces. He who looks at the scene in the mood to understand the meaning of events will not fail to see in every one of these agencies the same Christian spirit, nor that, however intensely each may feel that his own is the Master's method, there is a mightier tide whose

> "... current and compulsive course Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on,"

and bears them along and governs all.

Yet this is not all that must be said, for if justice requires that no less be said in praise, the same sense of what is due to truth requires that it be said also that the striking likeness between all Christian Missions is seen in the failures and disappointments as well as in the successes that they gain. The Christian propaganda has its disheartening side, no less than its triumphs, its promise, and its hope. All missions are gaining ground, but gaining slowly. The advance measured by purely human standards - is not commensurate with the earnest devotion and self-sacrifice of the missionaries. This cannot be laid justly to the account of inadequate knowledge, learning, tact, or ability of the personnel. Nor again are the Japanese seriously affected against us by the spectacle of a divided Christian world. They comprehend at once the idea of sects in a religion; they have numerous sects in their own religions and the clefts between them are sharp-edged and as deep as any known among Christians.

Nevertheless, it is this division more than anything else which hinders the prompt manifestation of the life which is in Christianity. The Gospel is intolerant of the sect-idea, and whatever weak excuses or attempted justifications we may offer, a divided Christendom is a contradiction in terms. A missionary force which merely stretches along the front of battle without open unity of command and full control lacks that high morale which alone can bring final victory. In the mission field this disunion weakens all, so that none, even the most highly organized, can speak or act with power, and it paralyses the Body so that it cannot act according to its own nature. Great as is the power of conservatism in the Japanese, stubborn as is the opposition of the bureaucracy to Christian ideas, deeply rooted as is the idea that the Japanese are a nation apart from the rest of humanity, all these are as nothing at all compared with the loss of vital force through the divisions of Christians.

A discussion of this subject will close this book.

CHAPTER VII

Anglican missions have hitherto been but incidentally mentioned. They began in the same year as the Presbyterian — some months earlier.

If the Presbyterian missionaries of that first period had the advantage of strong support at home and of steadily increasing reinforcements, Rev. Channing Moore Williams suffered from lack of both. But his strength was the strength of the mystic, and his outlook the long gaze of the seer. The foundations he laid were not to be measured with a yard-wand nor their uprightness tested by a visible plumb-line. Williams was a man of utter unworldliness. Those who met him felt by intuition the power of goodness free from guile. He seemed all gentleness, sweetness, and patience, and so he was, yet he was as firm as the pyramids in his convictions and he was as unpliable under the strain of arguments of expediency as Gregory VII. In the limpid purity of his heart temptations to act for the enhancing of his personal reputation were quenched like flaming tow when plunged into water. That deep and fatal flaw of manpleasing which lurks in the heart of many fine natures was absent from his make-up. To act otherwise than as conscience prompts lest it should affect him or his plans unfavourably was alien to his simplicity, in which there lay a power of persuasion denied to many men of keener intellects or wider training. He was left alone during those critical years, but he was counted on to stay, for his mettle was well understood at home, and in 1866 he was consecrated bishop, with supervision not only over Japan but over the American Episcopalian work in China too! It was in this same year that he baptized his first convert.

The period when results were first obtained was almost the same for all the early missions: the Roman Catholics in 1865, the Anglicans in 1866; Nicolai in 1868; the Presbyterians in 1869. For them all there had been this time of waiting, which (we must never cease to keep in mind) was imposed upon them by the political disturbances of the period!

With the dawn of peace in Japan the next Anglican contingent came, from England in 1869, when a mission from the Church Missionary Society was opened. It may be considered as significant that both the earlier American and the later English missionaries were drawn from the Evangelical wing of the Church. Zeal for souls was the ruling maxim of that wing of the Anglican forces, and it was their strength. Let it be said to their credit that very seldom have the Evangelicals gone so far as to deny a like zeal for souls to their brethren on the other flank. The special strength of the C. M. S. forces has from the outset openly, faithfully and perseveringly been exercised in the ministry of preaching the Gospel. And it has been their glory and their honour to make known among

the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. this end they have also sought to train up a numerous and capable body of preachers. In this their influence, laudable as it is, has not been for unmixed good. though it is not easy to see how, under the circumstances, they could have kept clear of the snare which lies before all who teach the Japanese to speak in public. The snare lies in their loquacity. They speak so easily, so copiously, and they have so small cisterns to draw from that the flood outpoured lacks substance, and gains no clearness from its thinness; there is little in their habitual utterances to feed either mind or soul. This severe judgment lies not against the speakers trained by C. M. S. alone; it is just as applicable to them everywhere unless thorough training and watchful inspection correct their overfondness for the sound of words.1

I have in mind one of the great preaching halls of C. M. S. in Tokyo. The street in which it stands

In the Presbyterian Report for 1918 there is a striking illustration. The writer says "when a preacher preaches a dreary philosophical sermon and then invites them to attend his weekly lecture on Tolstoi he ought to be promoted to the chair of Belles-Lettres at the University of Timbuctoo! When a young pastor devotes his Sunday evening Gospel-meeting, attended by a sprinkling of honest apprentices and a few long-suffering women, to a third-rate discussion of the Welhausen Documentary theory, followed by a lecture on the German poet Novalis delivered from the pulpit by a non-Christian, I think such a man would probably do better in Liberal Arts than in the Ministry. When a theological student, preaching from the text 'He giveth His beloved sleep,' announces to his Sunday morning congregation his subject as the Gospel of Sleep (Nemuri no Fukuin), and then expounds his theme so successfully that the two men in his congregation of five go promptly and soundly to sleep, he does not reflect much lustre on his Alma Mater."

is the busiest half-mile in all Japan, Ginza (g as in gun) — an old street now thoroughly modernized, with its double line of electric cars, its dazzle of electric lights and signs, its plate-glass windows behind which lies the merchandise of the whole world (some, genuine importations, most of them, clever imitations), and its broad flag-stone side pavements thronged day and night with bustling, swirling tides of traffic. Right on the street level is this hall, and there every day of the year the faithful evangelists, English and chosen Japanese, proclaim the saving Gospel of the Lord. A more beautiful work of faith could not be conceived than this, and if the C. M. S. have given tone to the general life of the Japanese Church, of which there is once in a while a rather peevish complaint made, they have earned it by their steadfast adherence to this line of duty.

Just why Bishop Williams received so little help from America in this period, when he had made it clear in his letters that the opportunity was unique, the hour big with fate, is difficult to understand, harder still to excuse or justify. Yet it may be said in extenuation of the fault that the United States had just gone through with a tremendous civil war; it was at the moment experiencing the equally tremendous strain of reconstruction accompanied by bitterness and meanness of party strife benumbing to the spiritual organs of the civic body. During that slow convalescence the American Church was engaged heart and soul in knitting up the severed bonds between the Northern and the Southern

dioceses. There had been no such division on the question of slavery as had long before the war torn apart some denominations. But the bare fact that war had made it physically impossible for Northern and Southern Churchmen to meet in council had caused the Southern dioceses to make a provisional organization for themselves. No such institution had, however, been counted by the North as a finality. When the General Convention of the Church had met in 1862 (when the war was at its fiercest grapple) the absent dioceses were called in due order.

In the autumn of 1865 (when the war was already ended) some Southerners appeared, timid, yet hopeful, and when they asked what steps they must take for full union they were bidden to rely upon the love of their brethren. And so that breach was closed. But it can readily be seen that when so small a body as the American Episcopal Church is given up to so mighty a task, events which take place on the edge of the world are not likely to be understood in their true importance. Moreover the Church has been shaped for correspondence with the national form of government, and like it forms a federal union exactly concurrent with the republic. To provide for that spiritual expansion has been the chief task of its missionary executive; "foreign missions" have really depended for their life and growth upon the efforts of a comparatively small number in the Church whose intense ardour has driven, forced rather, the matter upon the body corporate. But in those days party strife was sharp and the interest of even the devoted

few was not able to stir the conscience of the Church to perceive this duty. Bishop Williams in fact received no helpers who remained until the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists had made strong plantations. Nothing, however, could shake his courage, and although he was the last man in the world to push himself towards the centre of the stage, yet the influence he wielded was well understood by the missionary community to be very deep and vital. Gains which could be counted were slow in coming, but now, after half a century, they are coming and the prophet's rod is gemmed with buds already half-opened and showing

In forma dunque di candida rosa
... la milizia santa
Che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa.

Yet if Bishop Williams did not receive direct reinforcement until 1871 and 1873 the new English arrivals made his task easier. Both he and they were Evangelicals, and thus the same, but with a difference. Both Americans and Englishmen placed their emphasis on personal piety which they held was caused by belief in Jesus Christ as the one Divine Saviour of sinners. The English adherents of C. M. S. are the representatives of a private society, largely governed by laymen, and therefore they do not stand on quite the same basis as the American. For the American Churchman was the chosen agent of a free, self-governing Church, membership in which *ipso facto* made him a member in a missionary society. In

the American Church there is no missionary society, properly so called. The Church is not a secondary feature in the mind of the Protestant Episcopal Church; she is the divinely constituted means of salvation. Her disciple is in the way of salvation by the fact of his vital union with her. The more thoroughly then that each of these mission-bands carried out their principles the more widely they would diverge in their application of the vital force. All this made not for division, however, but for the enlargement of the area of the admitted truth, and for the lessening of the harm which certain elements of weakness tended to do in each. Such an element lies in their imperfect perception of sacramentalism as the spiritual significance of all matter and as a social bond.

In 1873 the third of the great Anglican constituents reached Japan in the persons of the Reverends W. B. Wright and A. C. Shaw, who had been sent out by the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Ports,—"S. P. G."

Mr. Shaw, afterwards Archdeacon, exemplified the very spirit of the Society in his calm wisdom, his patience, his dauntless courage and his unflinching fidelity to the Catholic Church. He passed away after thirty years of service, honoured and mourned by a wide circle.

The solidarity of S. P. G. with the Church, which is its special characteristic, makes it complementary to both the other agencies mentioned, through its stress upon the corporate life of the Church as the neces-

sary instrument of spiritual energy. The three strands had their union beyond seas, but this union was bound to be seen in Japan sooner or later.

In those early days however, each group of workers had to go about its duties uncheered by knowledge of a common support near at hand. Evangelistic work was beset with many difficulties. The rule as to twenty-five mile journeys from the treaty port was a real hindrance to the extension of work. One method by which some missionaries evaded the rigour of the rule was to procure a passport for "scientific research," or on a similar pretext, and to take advantage of permission to stay a few months beyond the treaty limits to preach or to hold meetings in semi-secrecy. Some men who did this frankly admitted that they were not quite in the right; others said that the authorities perfectly understood the matter and were winking at the evasion. Bishop Williams steadily and consistently refused to make use of any subterfuge; to do so was, he maintained, to contaminate the truth of the Gospel with an equivocation. He declared that, although the workers were confined to the ports and the regions near them, they still had access to millions upon millions, and if these could really be reached the effect upon the country at large would be enormous. And he urged his handful of helpers to grasp the opportunities close at hand.

The first church had been erected at Osaka by 1870, and the first Confirmation held there that year. The Bishop founded his school for boys in 1873. In 1874 Bishop Williams' field of supervision was limited

to Japan. In 1883 the first English Bishop for Japan was consecrated,— Rt. Rev. A. W. Poole, of C. M. S.

Then ensued, precisely as in every other mission group, the growth of fields already planted, and the venturing out for new openings. Men sometimes ask, honestly enough, why when a congregation has been gathered the missionary does not devote himself to that until it can live of itself, not going hither and thither and gaining little anywhere. The answer is very simple,—he cannot. A preaching may gain enough to warrant continuance in one place, but the men gathered in are seldom all from the vicinity; most likely some may come from miles away. Presently, after such have really been gained they advise, or ask, that effort be made near their homes, and so on in turn. What the outcome of these wide-flung gospellings may be depends upon trifles; nothing at all, so far as eye can measure, may come. He who writes had this experience in his first half-year. A Japanese school teacher, highly learned in Confucianism, who had once been a catechumen for a short period, but had long before lapsed into indifference, had lodging with him a young man who was a student in our English school. This young man, a catechumen himself, wished to arouse his landlord, and easily gained permission to have Christian teaching given in his house. The principal of our school was too busy to undertake this work and asked me to do it, using the student as an interpreter. For several months I gave instruction there, and at the end the student and two or three others were baptized, but

not our host. Six years later I received from him after years and years of silence — a postcard on which in clumsy English he had contrived to send a message to "Mr. Swisson," that he had "found the light of the Gospel."

During the next dozen years, as the work of these Anglican missions prospered the necessity of forming a Japanese church became more and more apparent to all. The members of the group which have been roughly summed up as Presbyterian had effected such a union,—a union which was so strong as to seem, at the time, to be certain to sweep the whole body of Japanese converts, except Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox, into its lines. The converts gathered by C. M. S. were so loosely held, for instance, as to make it probable that they would follow their Japanese brethren into the "popular church." Such a view proved erroneous. Men may rejoice in the great deeds of their fellows and vet believe that there is a better way. Something of this sort proved, in practice, to be the case with this group. The American group had from the first insisted strongly upon the Prayer Book, and S. P. G. was not less insistent. There were a thousand arguments for consolidation, not the least of which was the protection of converts from the invasions of unbelief and agnosticism. The Prayer Book and the whole ordered system of the Church provided better defences for fundamental verities than was supplied by the looser structure of the numerically preponderant Protestant evangelicalism.

The consecration in 1886 of Edward Bickersteth as Bishop for Japan was providential for the movement. Everything conspired to make him the man of the hour. His family represented the English Evangelical party at its best. The spirit in which he had been reared was typical of the piety, humanity and steadfastness in obedience to the Master according to the noblest ideals of that company of earnest Christians. Nor had he gone counter to that current in joining hands with the Evangelical Catholics of the Church of England. In everything vital to the life of the redeemed and awakened believer there is no difference between them. Add to this fundamental requirement his brilliant intellect, his academic distinctions, his courage, sympathy and patience, and his social gifts and we have rare qualifications for his work. But there was more. He had missionary experience as Head of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi. And thus he came as one who had dedicated himself to the mission cause in obedience to the divine summons; he had not simply accepted an appointment to an office which involved life in the mission field.

The danger that these three groups of converts would be organized into three separate episcopalian sects seemed so great that Bishop Williams and Bishop Bickersteth called together three representatives of each of the three Missionary Societies to meet with them and discuss the advisability of calling a convention for the organization of the converts of the three missions into an autonomous Japanese

At that time the edicts against Christianity still existed, although they had for several years been in abeyance. Religious liberty was not given to the subjects of the Emperor until two years later.

The provisional constitution and canons drawn up by the Bishops and their advisers were adopted by the convention with few changes.

It was from a state almost chaotic that order and harmony were drawn by this action. Japan was still deeply steeped in the spirit of feudalism, so that the feeling of allegiance was strong among the converts to the particular missions with which they had been associated. Thus the converts of the American mission most absurdly were strongly anti-English, and those attached to S. P. G. and C. M. S. were equally devoted to their respective societies and antagonistic to each other as well as to the Mission of the American Church.

This feudal feeling was very manifest in the sessions of the first General Convention, and there was considerable bad temper and un-Christian feeling displayed by many of the speakers, not all of whom were Japanese.

There were but few rules of order, and these were conscientiously ignored! Partisanship and national

prejudices were frequently shown and at times it seemed as if union was impossible.

The greatest factor in bringing the Japanese together was the adoption of the name of the Church. Nearly a whole day was taken in the discussion of the name.

It may seem strange that where a whole world of great problems was to be solved so much difficulty should arise over the question of a name. But names in China, Japan, and Corea are represented by ideographs, which are pictures conveying their meaning at a glance.

The Roman Catholic Missions in these countries call themselves the *Church of the Lord of Heaven* (i. e.—God's Church). The Chinese characters in which this is written convey *pictorially* a definite and well understood sense.

The Presbyterian group is called the *Church of Christ in Japan*. Here again, not only is there nothing exclusive or sectarian in the title, but the meaning appears instantly, although there remains for explanation what "Christ" means.

For our Anglicans there were various names proposed. The names "Primitive Church," "Apostolic Church," "Anglican Church," "Episcopal Church," "Catholic Church," were all objected to. "Protestant Episcopal" might have been adopted had it been possible to agree as to what the words mean in *English* or upon any translation into Japanese. In some circles both in China and Japan it is

related as a mild jest that the meaning which could be extracted from a literal translation is "Church of the Kicking Overseers," or "Church of the Contradictory Bishops."

At last a lay delegate from Tokyo brought the Japanese together by an appeal to their national feeling, proposing that the title "Sei Ko Kwai" with the prefix "Nippon" be adopted. This is believed to have been voted for by every Japanese; there may have been a few foreigners voting against it.

The title is simply the familiar phrase of the Apostles' Creed, "Holy Catholic Church" with the prefix *Nippon* or *Nihon* (Japan).

From a contemporary account written by one of the conference members it is clear that this was the central knot of the whole problem. There were misgivings on all sides about the possibility of agreement. All things conspired to make the people restless. It seemed unfair that foreigners should have so much to say about a church which, after all, was meant for the Japanese. The Japanese were anxious that no expression should be used that would be a barrier against any Christian uniting with them. They were so bent upon unity that only a title which was inclusive was acceptable; such a title was believed to have been found in the Japan Holy Catholic Church.

This name was not greatly liked however in any quarter and substitutes were offered. All the old difficulties at once reappeared and the name stood.

The real difficulties lay much deeper, but few per-

ceived this. The relations of the Japan Church (to make use of Bishop Bickersteth's interpretation of the meaning of the name) with the perennial Catholic Church was the fundamental matter. Few among the Japanese have even yet boldly faced this, or have considered the inevitable implications of either an affirmative or a negative answer. Granting that almost all, or quite all, the Japanese would admit our organic vital unity with the historic Catholic Church, another question arises: how far does our independence of the Papacy, or of the Church of England, or of the American or the Irish Church, leave us bound by the Canon Law of the Catholic Church? Is such autonomy as there is anything more than administrative?

Then there is the thorny problem of the position of the laity, behind which lies the deeper problem, what is the laity? Is the distinction between clergy and laity necessary or incidental? So far as terms go the distinction is inferred as the constituent element in the organism of the Church, but no precise definition appears in the Canons, and thus the Catholic position remains a presumption, hardly a prerequisite condition manifest to all. Practical agreement was sought, and practice is relied upon to bring about substantial uniformity.

Our education is much better in dogmatics, in biblical learning, and in history, than in Canon Law. Comparatively few have thorough knowledge of the Canons, yet it is precisely in Canon Law that church-founders would find guidance in every problem likely

to arise, and also principles for the interpretation of laws.

The whole body of Canon Law, still in force in the Church of England and, in fact, her only code of law, appears to have been ignored. No correspondence with the laws of the Empire seems to have been considered. The inference to be drawn in this direction from the striking parallel between the Constitution of the United States of America and the "Constitution" of the American Episcopal Church seems not to have been perceived, or, if perceived, to have had no weight in the discussions. At that time Japan had no written constitution, though it was known that one was taking shape, and that it would be modeled after the Constitution of the German Empire, which has its basis in Civil Law,—a code suited to the Imperial idea. It might have been argued that a constitution largely framed by lawyers trained in Common Law was à priori not so likely to be suited to the Japanese as one with a long history among peoples under monarchical and feudal rule. Nothing that might have been suggested from such considerations was presented to the convention and all was done after the American model as if that conformed fully to Catholic precedent and was exactly suited to the Japanese mind. Democrats would naturally make constitutions after democratic models. Montesquieu observes in his Lettres Persanes that if triangles were called upon to make a god they would make him three-sided.

Nevertheless, granting that this abstract criticism

has some force, the practical results have been good. It was wise to follow American experience, for that has been such as to educate a vast number of men whose early training was alien to Church thought, and to form them into the staunchest of Churchmen.

There is a question here as to the wisdom of taking laws which arise from the mentality of a people accustomed to self-government and handing them over intact to a people of totally different race which has been for age upon age subject to despotic government. The question is one which has received its answer. The plan does work. Further it should be said that every possible variety of Christian rule was experimental. All the churches in the communion of the English-speaking Church have for a good while been making ventures which are scarcely warranted by the text of the Codex Juris Canonici. One and all are living in a transition state in which principles must be applied boldly. Frankly, it is astonishing how little strain has been put upon law by men who wanted to do what is right.

At the time of the first General Convention no Japanese had been ordained priests; the only Japanese clerical delegates were three deacons,—two of them are still living and held in high esteem; the Rev. M. Tai, the first Japanese ordained priest, being one of them.

All the missionaries, both English and American, were ex-officio members of the Convention. At the twelfth meeting, held in May, 1917, there were seventy clerical deputies; of these only ten were missionaries.

At that early date the Japanese Church numbered about 500 communicants. The number of members now is almost 30,000. The Japanese clergy, both deacons and priests, number 110.

The whole Empire was divided provisionally into six dioceses (a seventh was marked off in 1911). These are: In the far southwest (1) Kyushu, whose chief town is the port of Nagaski; coming to the main island (Hondo) the diocese of (2) Osaka, ending in the great manufacturing city of that name. There it joins with (3) Kyoto, the capital of the Mikado in his long seclusion. Then comes (4) South Tokyo which again joins in Tokyo (itself without a delimiting boundary) with (5) North Tokyo which runs for over four hundred miles to the end of the main island. Between Kyoto and South Tokyo now lies the seventh diocese of (6) Mid-Japan. The whole island of Hokkaido (7) forms the diocese of that name.

The missionary bishops who provisionally administer these districts—they are not dioceses—are representatives of the three missions. The extreme islands, Kyushu and Hokkaido, are given to C. M. S., Osaka, and South Tokyo are held by S. P. G., while North Tokyo and Kyoto are the field of the American mission. Mid-Japan has lately been set apart for the Canadian contingent maintained since 1886. One other feature in this parcelling out of the land calls for remark. Two dioceses are worked exclusively by the Church Missionary Society, but members of

that Society are found in every other diocese that they choose to enter.

Translation of the Preface to the Constitution and Canons, as adopted in 1887.

Preface

This Constitution and Canons were first provisionally adopted in February of the 20th year of Meiji (A. D. 1887) when there met in consultation in Osaka the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity who had been sent out by the Church of England and by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, together with the Japanese Clergy and Delegates representing the Japanese Laity connected with the above Churches: At that time the Nippon Sei Kokwai (Holy Catholic Church of Japan) was organized in accordance with the universal principles of the Holy Catholic Church, and the foundation of its self-government was laid.

Another agency of administration is the setting up in each district of a permanent committee of priests and laymen, generally called the Standing Committee. This is chosen by the vote of the district convention, the bishop selecting one of the priests, and the clergy choosing the clerical members, the lay folk their own representatives.

In each district there is a Chiho-Kwai, or district convention, delegates being sent up from each

"parish" and from mission stations according to a plan which insures practically universal representation. The bishop presides over this body. Its functions are to enact what are called canons, but in effect become Bye-Laws, and to discuss the needs, opportunities, and possibilities of the hour, to afford to all the chance of a hearing for his plans. The convention also chooses the Standing Committee and committees for particular needs and elects deputies to the Triennial $S\bar{o}$ -Kwai—General Convention of the whole church.

Whatever the work done by the Chiho-Kwai there can be no question as to its value in educating the men, in unifying the various parts and in teaching parliamentary procedure and self-government. The mere opening of the mind of a Japanese from a remote mountain province or from the thronged ways of an industrial city to the actual fact that he has become a legislator in an organization brought over seas and now spread over his own empire is of incalculable value for the future. And his real share quite frankly assured to him, in the distribution of the pastoral stipends fund, the relief fund, and the like, does much to take away the bitterness which his dependence upon foreigners for almost all of the money supplies might easily awake in his heart. Such association in affairs helps to form in him a sense of responsibility for the moral government of the Japanese Christian community and to train his conscience in the ways of obedience.

This particular subject of discipline is a thorny

jungle. It would never do to bring it into the substance of this book to a greater extent than to remark that the founders of the Japanese Church have refrained from laying down a code of rules for the people. The great principle of charity has been felt to be on the whole sufficient in its power upon conscience to make sincere believers aware of their duties. The rest must be left for the spirit of Christ to effect. There is a striking illustration of the same moral problem in the fields of civil and common law in the Empire. The old customary and local laws and usages have been displaced by uniform codes for the whole Empire closely modelled after the codes of Europe. But the mere momentum of the old customs is still so great as seriously to affect judicial procedure. Even in a political society so little bound by European precedent as the United States, prescription going back no further than 1796 has made some practices a rigid rule where, by the Constitution, no such rule was enjoined.

It is not singular then that in the ancient Empire custom should still be so potent. The Church has a stimulus to moral growth which the State does not possess, and we may confidently look for the growth in the Christian community of a moral consciousness which will so ripen as to become dominant. Not that the lessons of Christian experience may not be suggested to the young Church; it would be mischievous for foreigners to attempt more.

CHAPTER VIII

THE Russian Archbishop Nicolai concluded from much study and after long and varied experience of the Japanese that they have of themselves a firm ethical position, in which they need for their practical guidance clear and positive dogmatic religious instruction. If this is so the missionary who gives to each little company of believers a real share in the moral direction of the neophytes will not go far astray. It deserves mention however that the mind of Japan has been much clouded and confused by the jumble of philosophical teachings poured out in floods by teachers in recent times. There has been enough new wine drunk to muddle stronger heads than theirs. Tolstoi, for instance, has been extraordinarily popular, and it is astonishing to see a police which shudders at the bare utterance of the word socialism, allowing without check the free circulation of all books by Tolstoi,—an anarchist quite certain that everything will go on charmingly without any government, law, or police at all.

One of the functions of the district Standing Committee is to pass upon the fitness of candidates for Ordination, a highly useful provision adopted from American usage. Testimonials as to the fitness of the candidate for Ordination are presented to them, and if they approve he is regularly enrolled as a candi-

date; up to the time of such approval he is simply a postulant received as such by the Bishops. There is a double test in this scrutiny, one moral, the other intellectual. When the time for actual Ordination comes there is a second similar scrutiny by the Standing Committee, and the Bishop does not ordain against the formal counsel of the Committee. There is always a danger in Japan of a Committee being under the domination of one strong man whose ill will towards a person may work rank injustice. Such an occurrence is not a mere possibility. Still, while men are men, and making allowance for the Japanese way of dealing with each other, the system on the whole works well. The Bishop cannot be bound. Even by Canon Law the Bishop is obliged to exercise the greatest care to make sure that the candidate is worthy.1 Of whom can he receive testimony better

¹ Canon Law: The Canon on the subject reads as follows: Episcopus sacros ordines nemini conferat quin ex positivis argumentis moraliter certus sit de eius canonica idoneitate; secus non solum gravissime peccat, sed etiam periculo sese committit alienis communicandi peccatos. Codex Juris Canonici, Can. 973, § 3.

Promovendi saeculares aut religiosi qui, quod pertinet ad ordinationem, saecularium iure reguntur, afferant:

I. Testimonium ultimae ordinationis, et rel.

2. Testimonium de peractis studiis.

3. Testimonium rectoris Seminarii, aut sacerdotis cui candidatus extra Seminarium commendatus fuerit, de bonis eiusdem candidati moribus.

4. Testimoniales litteras Ordinarii loci in quo promovendus tantum moratus est ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit. Codex Juris Canonici, Can. 993.

5. Testimoniales Superioris maioris religiosi si cui religioni

promovendus adscriptus sit.

The American and Japanese canons are conceived in the spirit of these Roman canons.

than through this instrumentality formed by the act of his own people and competent for their own work?

The function of the So-Kwai, or General Convention, is much more extensive. The Convention is made up of deputies from each district, six of each Order, clerical and lay, the "House of Bishops" not yet sitting apart. The Senior Bishop in order of consecration is President.

This body is supreme, and within the Constitution there is no limit to its powers. It is bound to the continuance of the three orders of the ministry, and to a general acceptance of the Catholic religion, but the authors of the Constitution did not base their enactments upon any definite dogmatic statements even in regard to primary matters, contenting themselves with broad inclusive provisions, and leaving plenty of room for growth and experience. The subject is bristling with difficulties, and the outsider must be cautious lest he wound truth either by condemning or approving without knowledge of the facts. We may be aware of the laws of the Church in Europe or in the later Greek Empire; what we do not know is the Japanese people and their presuppositions. The chances are that by being patient with half-truths, by allowing time for teaching to sink in and for the slow sub-conscious working of minds, and by making much of all positive gains as they emerge, the Japanese will become able to form a body of laws for themselves which will be true to the Catholic position, because the variety of human experience, when stript of the robing of circumstance, is not so great as we are prone to think. Those who through good report and evil report keep to the highest they know are pretty sure to find themselves realizing the same sort of moral consciousness, and when a church dedicates itself to a grave conception of life and pursues it with passion and seriousness if we believe in the control of the Spirit we may count upon it reaching its aim. Only — a needed correlative there must be no slackness in our human attention to the business of the day. It is so easy to trust in God and be lazy; we call it being patient.

The So-Kwai has the direction of the mission work which the N. S. K. has undertaken in the island of Formosa (in Japanese, Taiwan). This work is carried on as the work of the Japanese, who maintain it at their own charges. The growth of this work is steady and said to be hopeful. It is, beyond all question, a sign of the vitality of the Church that from its own scanty means, although faced with the overwhelming needs of its own land, enough can be given to plant and support in growth a true mission.

The Prayer Book also is under the care of the So-Kwai. In a quite remarkable sense the Japanese version of the Prayer Book has been a growth and not a mere blind copying of Anglican liturgical forms and the thrusting of them upon the Japanese. Each of the three mission groups made partial translations of the Prayer Book for the use of their converts, as

occasion arose. The Prayer Book was the common heritage of each group, and the use of it was the one thing all held in joint tenancy. The influence of this book was enormous and decisive in the plans for union. The American Churchmen naturally brought their own book. This American Praver Book has its own special features. Of these we may call attention to the Consecration Prayer in the Communion Service, and to rubrical provisions for the clearing up of matters unsettled by English rubrics and to secure flexibility. In all these the Japanese book follows American usage; the English and the American Consecration Prayers are both given, the priest being left free to use either one, and the provisions for elasticity allow such alternate forms and omissions as almost to destroy the structure of the daily offices,—the Psalter being almost suppressed. As the book now stands in its latest edition — 1914 - there are some notable gains for theological accuracy and for liturgical propriety. By far the most important of these is that which provides a baptismal formula whose validity cannot be questioned. Unhappily the form which had been in use was not exempt from severe criticism. So great attention had been paid to secure a Japanese form which would be the exact grammatical counterpart of els to ovoqua, - alone to the disregard of the verb, as caused much uneasiness in some quarters and at last brought about the substitution of a certainly valid form for the old one. Those who objected honoured the sincerity which sought to keep the full force of the

New Testament language, but when this was done only by disregarding the unvarying custom of the Catholic Church, they felt they must press their objection.

In a general way it may be remarked that the sacramental terms used in the Japanese book do not attain to the standard of the Book of Common Prayer. Three or four instances will be given in all of which the version falls short of the unambiguous language of the original. The word for sacrament is "sei ten" or holy rite. This is too loose a word to answer to the careful limitations of the English Catechism and Articles, whether there are two or seven or seventy sacraments, or however qualified. It would have been better, since the idea of a sacrament is strange to the Japanese mind, to have adopted the word sacrament itself, just as pan (bread) and chapeau, and beer, and beefsteak, and many other words have been taken bodily into current Japanese speech.

The word for *priest*, "choro," is destitute of all priestly connotations. The word represents the influence of the radical Puritan element at its height, and marks the wide divergence of that party from the spirit and language of the Book of Common Prayer.

The word for bishop, "Kantoku," is said to be an exact rendering of the New Testament Greek Έπίσκοπος. This exactness, however, applies only to the etymology of the Greek word and to its historical Greek associations; it has only the most

rudimentary applicability to the office of a bishop according to the experience of the Church. The difference - perfectly apparent - between a word suitable for a faithful translation of an historical document and a word filled in a living history of nineteen centuries with liturgical, theological, and devotional implications ought to have been heeded. Men engaged in founding a "church" after careful study of the New Testament, like the Calvinist reformers of the sixteenth century, might disregard history in their effort to restore (supposed) primitive conditions. Our Anglican reformers did not so legislate nor should the framers of the laws for a new planting from the old stem have done otherwise than our English masters. The word Kantoku has such associations in Japan as make it positively misleading and perhaps bewildering to a Japanese who hears it given to the chief ministers in a Christian communion. It is in daily use as the title of every overseer of workmen or labourers.

The title used by the Roman Catholics and the Russian Mission — Shukyo — was by some considered as improper, but not quite justly. The word is supposed by such objectors to mean "Lord of the doctrine," whereas in fact the French never so use it, but render it by Maître de la doctrine, so that in their mouths "shukyo" simply means Principal Teacher of the Doctrine.

It must, in simple justice, after so caustic a criticism, be said that in the Japanese Prayer Book each of these sacramental terms has in brackets an alter-

native form which supplies a slight corrective. In these brackets accordingly we find sakuramento. deakono, puresubutero, episukopo, baputesuma, and these alternate words may be used at will by the minister. They also provide an opening for teaching, and a fulcrum for overthrowing the idols of the pedants, - Idola Theatri.

There should have been no hesitation in the choice of terms. The same words used by the Roman Catholics and Russians should have been used, after the example of the Book of Common Prayer, since the offices and the doctrines are identical.

As in the case of the District Convention, so in the national gathering the great work has been for unifying the Church, and with greater intensity as befits an agency with practically unlimited powers acting in a far wider field.

The testimony given by all who have been members of the So-Kwai for a course of years is uniform that there has been steady growth in corporate sentiment, increasing manifestation of Church principle, and courage and good sense in facing critical questions. There can be little question that the Nippon Sei Kokwai has "found itself" and that its active members are showing wholesome pride in it. And this achievement is very probably a proof of the practical wisdom and superior knowledge of its counsellors against those who, like the writer, desiderate franker exhibition of the Catholic heritage in which she claims a share.

In the narrow limits of this book it is difficult to

present a view of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai which comprehends all details in their due proportions and relations. It is hard to eliminate the accidental and the transitory and bring out the formal and permanent elements. Nor may I leave unmentioned my own imperfect knowledge.

One paragraph suffices for saying that the tone of the Catholic Church in Japan is pietistic, with an increasing modifying element of sacramentalism. There is still a certain fear of ceremonial, in some degree that there may be a complete break with Buddhism; partly again, because a few teachers have instilled unworthy suspicions. There is every reason for high hope from these ways of belief. No one responds more loyally to right teaching, none is more capable of far adventure. The Catholic ideal has been presented to their minds, and with patience, courage, and wisdom in their teachers, whether native or foreign, we may dedicate ourselves to the task in confident reliance upon the Head. Its chief lack is in discipline, in which it falls short of all others. But by whose fault?

In the So-Kteai the consent by concurrent voting of the Bishops and of the clerical and lay deputies is required for all legislation. In America when the deputies are opposed to the Bishops, opposition has an altogether impersonal aspect, consisting only of voting or speaking against resolutions (and the like) adopted by another House. In Japan the Bishops, though they vote separately, sit in the same House. Deputies, therefore, unless they are to ab-

dicate their functions altogether, have at times not only to vote and speak against the proposals of the Bishops in their presence, but in many cases to oppose the individual Bishops (their own Bishop it may be) who make the proposals. A deputy who takes any large part in the proceedings, as older members naturally do, may easily make on undiscriminating listeners the impression that he is insubordinate to rightful authority, and such impressions are easily communicated to others. Such parliamentary usage is educational and makes for discipline all around.

The liturgical needs of the Japanese Church have not had the advantage of an originally carefully planned treatment. In consequence the Church has had to bear the sharp impress upon it of a narrow Anglicanism. If there had been no real variation in spirit and temper each Bishop, or at any rate each group, might have freely set forth forms taken from many sources but accommodated to Anglican ways. The Book of Common Prayer might under such process have suffered but there would have been brought before the Japanese, by authority, a more ample supply of liturgical material for their use. As it is there is the real gain of the Prayer Book. Yet, dear as that book is, it is not complete, nor is it a standard of liturgical perfection. The book as it stands presupposes the Catholic framework or atmosphere. The first compilers of the book in the sixteenth century explicitly appealed to this Catholic setting in laying down their two bases: the book was to be in

the vernacular for the public common worship of both clergy and laity, and it was to follow loyally the prescriptions of the Catholic Church. Our British and American Churches have no right to exact from the Japanese a narrower standard than these two. Within those limits the liberty of the Japanese is complete, and a boundless store of liturgical writings is at their disposal. Admirable as is the Book of Common Prayer in its different recensions it offers but a meagre and sometimes savourless supply of devotional literature.

Just as a piano transcription of a symphony in full score, although it preserves the themes, loses the rich colours and depths of the orchestral instruments, so the Book of Common Prayer is a transcription in monotone of the full and varied harmonies of the liturgical chorus of the Greek and Latin churches. Austerity and terseness mark our English devotional forms — two characteristics uncongenial to the Japanese mind, which rather abounds in sentiment suggested, not expressed. In the devotions of the Eastern Churches as well as in the vast stores of the Mediaeval period in Europe there are literary remains more nearly expressive of their moods than those which they now are using.

The proof of this sentimentality is to be seen in the pleasure the Japanese take from the singing of extraliturgical hymns, most of them taken from revivalists' hymn-books, and set to the catchy, lilting tunes so popular in parochial missions or revivals, and in the streets.

These compositions they sing in octaves, and with great spirit, especially if there are refrains. Such songs afford a real pleasure. Yet it may be doubted whether in them there can be much which is a direct aid to worship. Painful as it is to say it, the influence of American Protestant Missionaries has been harmful in this matter of hymnody. Having no high traditional public standards as their models and therefore falling in with the fashions of the hour, they brought to Japan the flood of "Moody and Sankey" tunes that had all but ruined sacred music in America. They seem also to have supposed that hymns were sung in church as a means of expressing the feelings of the people. So too they doubted the capacity of the Japanese to learn fine and noble music, or anything above the level of popular songs, such as "Comin' thro' the Rye," to which tune I have heard a "hymn" sung in church.

Strong efforts have been made to overcome this vulgarizing tendency. Revisions have been made by competent hands, many bad settings have been discarded and better music substituted. Under intelligent and cultivated teachers sacred music as such not merely "the Devil's good tunes" written over words of prayer and praise — is slowly rising into being. The influence of English missionaries brought up under the high traditions of the cathedrals has been strong. It may be added that in Japan the general level of taste in music has risen.

The example of the Russian Mission, in which the ancient liturgical music of the Eastern Church in

all its nobility and exquisite fitness is admirably sung with no instrument accompaniment by a large Japanese choir, is sufficient to prove the capacity of the Japanese to value fine music and to perform it.

It is high time that a school of sacred music were formed in Japan; revivalists' moving tunes, the thrilling rhythms of cinema halls and cabarets, the noisy syncopations of dance halls, and stiff Anglican chants, are not the best models for our part in the Thrice-Holy songs of angels and archangels.

We may now resume our study of the inner workings of the Nippon Sei Kokwai. In this we may reckon as coincident the work of Bishop Bickersteth and Bishop McKim, who together, during the all too short career of the elder Bishop, pressed hard upon the Anglican forces, and, wherever they could be reached, upon the converts also, "our heritage in the Church," as the indispensable channel of Christianity. It was time that this message should be proclaimed from the episcopal chair. If the Church is secondary, if a man may "join" or not at will, if he may live apart from Christian disciples or conform to the laws of corporate life to such a degree as suits his own conscience, if he is free to disregard particular injunctions on the plea that such and such things do not appeal to him, then there is no divine necessity for wider and higher unity. Unity becomes then a purely human thing made by the concurrence of human wills, subject to human conditions and alterable and variable without limit. It may be commended as a matter

of prudence. It might become a piece of bitter factiousness.

Bishop Bickersteth had learned thoroughly in India the need for communities, both of men and women, and so he early undertook the work of establishing them in Tokyo. In a small way two such foundations were made,—St. Andrew's Mission, a sort of Universities' Mission of priests living in common in the spirit of prayer and study, and St. Hilda's, a similar society of dedicated women.

The revered name of Armine Francis King is inseparably connected with St. Andrew's House,—next to the Bishop its living centre, after the death of the Bishop, its wise and holy Father. No name among all the names worthy of honour as workers in the foundation of the Nippon Sei Kokwai stands higher than his or shines with purer lustre, for in him were mingled, in fine proportion and balance, strength and gentleness, fervid conviction and boundless patience, conservation with courage to dare greatly, a keen and penetrating mind, highly trained and developed, united with the frank simplicity of a child, a high sense of his own powers with the meekness of a Fénélon. These and other gifts made his personality one of extraordinary power. He craved no public notice, nor was he spoiled by the reverence and respect so instinctively given him by all who came near him, for all his talents were held in trust and he tempered all by the austerity and humility of the great Tractarians.

Little need be said of these communities except that although both have failed to draw into themselves priests and women in the measure hoped for by their founder, they have been and are still centres whence have gone sweet influences to counsel, lighten, strengthen and cheer. The needs of evangelism have swept priest after priest from the House, and women away from St. Hilda's. There is now the assurance that a new community will soon take up residence in St. Hilda's under the vows of religion.

Among the other works kept up by the present community are schools for girls, a Home for Aged Women, and a theological school for mission women — frequently called by the grotesque title of *Bible Women!* Besides these works, hostels for women students are kept by members of the Community.

This work of Bishop Bickersteth began, as will be noticed, somewhat before the founding of the Japanese Church.

In 1889 Bishop Williams resigned his episcopal care, but retained his place in the American Mission. Dr. John McKim, his successor, was not consecrated until 1893 owing to the cumbrous mechanism the American Church provides for the election of missionary bishops. The long interregnum was filled by the delegation of an experienced and capable member of the American House of Bishops, Dr. Hare, who disentangled certain knotted skeins and otherwise co-operated ably with Bishop Bickersteth in furthering the smooth working of the new organization. Bishop Hare had had long experience in the work of legisla-

tion, and his practical acquaintance with all the details and difficulties of a Second Chamber in a legislative body made him a thoroughly competent adviser. During the course of the next half-dozen years the districts into which the Empire had been provisionally divided received their bishops, and thus the period of planting received its constitutional organs of growth.

The bishops' names are here given in the order of their consecration:

Bishop Williams, 1866-1889: died, 1910.

Bishop Poole, 1883-1885.

Bishop Bickersteth, 1886-1897.

Bishop McKim, 1893-

Bishop Awdry [suffragan of Southampton 1894], in Japan 1896-1909.

Bishop Foss, 1896-

Bishop Fyson, 1896-1908 [resigned].

Bishop Evington, 1896-1908.

Bishop Partridge, 1900-1911 [resigned].

Bishop Cecil (Dr. C. H. Boutflower), [suffragan of Dorking 1905], 1909-

Bishop Lea, 1908-

Bishop Andrews, 1909-1917 [resigned].

Bishop Tucker, 1912-

Bishop Hamilton, 1913-

The high hopes which had animated all the missionary bodies for a dozen years or more were going to feel the pinch of a sudden frost. Popular opinion which had favoured the missionary propaganda, largely because Christianity was "western," all at once veered widely and began to turn towards nationalism; something like enmity towards foreigners and all their ways appeared.

There was much worse to face than hatred of foreigners. There were manifestations of bad faith not far removed from open apostasy. What made this worse was that a "university" founded by the Congregationalists to be a centre of Christian training, the Doshisha, at Kyoto, refused to profess belief in the personality of God and the immortality of the soul. The shock of this revelation of moral collapse was felt through all Protestant missions. The intellectual error was of little importance — time will cure sciolisms - but this moral obtuseness all but unnerved many, and on all sides Japanese were pointed at as affected by the same error and tainted with the same moral gangrene. The visions of hope so deeply cherished of the growth of a Japanese Christianity were now seen to be empty. Christianity of this particular variety was very well known in the Occident; nobody wanted it to take root and grow in Japan. It was only after engaging the special services of legal counsel that compromises were made which saved the Christian character of the school and kept it from disruption.

The spirit then revealed is still active. If it did not affect the missionary it would be less harmful, but it makes him lax and timid, he yields under the downward drag of the huge heathen multitude and compromises for the sake of expediency, and is given to babbling about putting in the thin edge of the wedge, of the danger of quenching smoking flax, but says little about the folly of trying to build walls with untempered mortar. A regrettable yielding to this influence was the recent decision among the promoters of the Women's Christian College to drop the word "Christian" from the official Japanese title of the institution.

Nevertheless too much must not be made of even the worst of these things or of the influence which causes them. The new strong wine of European learning has gone to the heads of the people and dazed their intellects. The cure lies not in indiscriminate repression but in patient teaching of the faith in its relations with all life. Thus not only will real learning be fostered, but men will learn balance, proportion and poise.

This change in feeling was the inevitable effect of the development of constitutionalism in the Empire, which reached its height in the gift to the nation by the pure grace of the Emperor of a Constitution—solemnly proclaimed February 11th, 1889. So great a gift indicated something more than the good will of the Emperor; it showed that the Empire was at peace within and that it was strong enough to make the venture ex proprio motu. The effect was tremendous. All the old-time spirit of the Yamato race rose, far-reaching in aim, inflexible in will, impatient for results. The reflex upon Christian effort was prompt and strong. Baptisms fell off in number at once. They

continued, indeed, but in 1889 they were fewer than they had been in 1888 by more than sixteen hundred. Not many years before some keen, hard-headed missionaries had written home their confident belief that in less than twenty-five years Japan would be Christianized, no missionaries would be needed, and even that Japan was on the point of adopting Christianity as the national religion by Imperial decree! Every man can now see that the pendulum was bound to swing far back to the other side. The change in moral temperature was a blessed thing for the missionaries and their work. They may have been unduly sanguine as to prospects. They met the buffeting gales with undaunted spirits for they now saw that they were not to be favoured more than their fathers: if the Cross is the medicine of the world it is as well the only instrument of the Gospel herald, and he must live in its power. They feared no longer, and fed their hearts on hopes, not deferred but to be realized in new ways. Nevertheless it was the hardest period for all missions which was opening with the last decade of the nineteenth century.

A little more than thirty years had elapsed since the first missionary forces had reached Japan.

Thrown into tabulated form these numbers and classifications appear, in round numbers:

Roman Catholics (Fren	ch Mission) 50,000
"Reformed" (British a	nd American) 34,000
Eastern Orthodox (Ru	ssian) 17,000

Another estimate for 1890 is probably nearer the truth. I have given both, from handbooks whose

accuracy I cannot vouch for, but whose authority is so great that I dare disregard neither.

Roman Catholic	
Reformed, including Anglicans	
Russian	17,025

The mission boards and other agencies of supply and direction in the homelands responded to the needs of the new situation, and in effect saved the work.

The set of the current of popular feeling against foreignism was felt until after the war with Russia. During the space then of nearly twenty years the missions lived not so much upon the Dead Sea fruits which had once been so alluring as upon divine promises. The people behind them at home perceived the need and supplies of men and women were sent out in greater number than ever before. New agencies were set up at central points and put in the charge of men whose training had made them fit for such duties.

As an instance of the way special gifts of personality have been effective, I insert an outline of a career of one man whose Bishop had asked him to undertake the care of a small school for boys which had suffered a mishap.

He writes: "I thought it too soon for so responsible an undertaking after only nine months in the country, but the Bishop was urgent, the need was great, and I could not do otherwise than comply. I looked upon the work as temporary, but I was obliged to carry on the school during the whole seven years that it lasted. Thus the expected course of

my life was overturned. I found myself a schoolmaster, obliged to give the greater part of my time to the teaching of English and to the management of the school. The result proved that I had been wrong in thinking that the most important thing for the missionary is the 'direct' evangelistic work. The school accomplished far more in its seven years for the evangelization of Japan than I could have done by a lifetime of evangelization among the mass of people. Out of it, and of the evangelistic work I was later able to establish in close connection with it and in dependence upon it came a large proportion of the older clergy of the Japanese church." And he then names nine clergymen and three laymen, all deservedly known and honoured throughout the · Church, besides a general mention of many others.

This particular case is exceptional, quite, but it is none the less an illustration of the real character of missionary effort. Different elements entered into the combination of forces which brought these men within the reach of Theodosius Stevens Tyng, but it was indispensable that upon their nature in its plastic stage should have been felt the impress of his personality.

CHAPTER IX

IF the work of the missions was not made easy by the open favour of popular opinion it was of better quality in itself; the work was better done. This is epecially true of the Nippon Sei Kokwai, for into it episcopal care brought a new tone. An episcopate which was not a contrivance to effect administration of confirmation and a rare ordination, but the fatherly intervention by way of interest, sympathy, encouragement, counsel, warning, rebuke, stimulus, approval, was its characteristic way of working, and so it was felt everywhere.

The machinery set in motion with the Constitution of the Japanese Church has been spoken of as a strong power making for unity. That testimony is true, but valuable as such moral unity is, indispensable indeed as it is, such mechanism would be just as effective in a corporation of Quakers; there is nothing necessarily churchly in it, as such. It works well under the hands of its contrivers and under certain conditions; there is nothing about it that is necessary. The real integrating force in the Sei Kokwai has been supplied through the channel of the *Episcopate*.

By this is meant the body of the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who by divine institution form the sacred ministry, to which they are co-opted by ordination, not

receiving their powers by delegation from the people or through the consent of the state. These powers they exercise in due gradation according to their order, by canonical mission. The vital, sacramental series of relations so constituted has nothing to do with conventions or committees, which are agencies for convenience in the performance of external business matters. Such agencies, though required in their own sphere, may vary indefinitely in form or vanish without affecting harmfully the episcopate, although they may help or hamper in divers ways. The Church is by divine institution constituted of two distinct classes, the clergy, and the laity. This divine institution grows otherwise than by the exercise of administrative gifts and powers. This principle has not everywhere been perceived in the Church in Japan. The Japanese have high gifts for what may be called bureaucracy or officialism. Their own manner of life makes them thirsty for power, and when they obtain it they exercise it with a right good will. Ordination, which more and more men are receiving, does not of itself make them active agents in the mechanism of administration, and it is the men who stand out in that work who appear to the public to possess the real powers. It is not strange then that there should be strong attractions to these positions. But in this view of things there is a real danger, unless checked or counterbalanced, of secularizing the Church and of forming a subtle but real erastianism. This spirit, as may be supposed, is already apparent. It does not, however, rise from the same causes (at least not directly) as in Europe. It is, indeed, a pure misunderstanding on their part, and, so far as it works vigorously, it springs from real interest in the welfare of the Church.

There need be no fear of its becoming dominant, for the true energies of the Episcopate are among the imponderables, and these the cleverest manipulators of "elections" and *iin* (committees) desire in their hearts to have free course. There is not the least question that the Christians sincerely hope for the triumph of the moral and the spiritual.

Thus we draw near to the great subject of the future, the bestowal upon the Japanese of the episcopal order.

Exactly as in the political world some nation, such as Italy, upon gaining a long desired unity becomes a problem which involves a vast complication of interests upon the right solution of which the peace and welfare of many nations depend, so in the world of religion the grant of the apostolic ministry brings a like complex of interests and forces into being. It is peculiarly true of Japan. The episcopate has been given to India, and more recently to China. Those two countries are not in the same state as Japan, and the same conditions do not prevail. The evolution of the Japanese has proceeded further and in a different milieu from either of the other two. There is in the Japanese a robustness of character, an implacable resoluteness of purpose, a firmness of grasp upon rights once conferred which brook no compromise. If forced to comply against their will they

146 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

will bide their time, but when their hour strikes they claim their own. And if the central authorities in England and America are not hasty in conferring the crowning gift it is not because of distrust of the subjects of such a consecration (the plainest of language must be used if the subject is discussed at all) but rather because our own teaching has not been consistent and clear. In so speaking the reference is not to words or to dogmatic definitions but to practice, and to practical instruction, although even in dogmatics the episcopate has been treated too narrowly, because too often taken out of its relation to the ministry. The Bishop is conceived of as the agent of government, the regulator, or manager. That he is a spiritual governor, the chief steward of grace, the Chief Priest, the chief Evangelist, the Prayer-Leader, hardly dawns upon the consciousness of the Japanese. By force of circumstances he is the head Mechanist of the apparatus of government, and they see him busied with that; how can they think of him as the spiritual Father? The Bishops themselves tell them the truth — they know — but things seen are mightier than words heard, and when the Japanese behold the Bishops at work upon affairs it is not surprising that they gain mistaken views about the office of a Bishop in the Church of God. There is just enough of truth in the view taken to make the confusion deeper. And that unlucky word Kantoku has about it an atmosphere which does not make for clear vision. The fault or blame for this condition lies at no man's door, least of all can it be charged against the Bishops.

The fact and the characteristics of the Japanese added to the life of the missionaries form the elements of the problem since the reaction upon the Japanese mind of the missionary psychology as the Japanese see it comes into play as well as the other two. The Bishops are overburdened with secular business, overwhelmed and all but smothered in it. This is the fault of our system. When then we outsiders have reformed our ways and made them agree with our definitions there is reason for hoping that men will be found among the Japanese clergy who will make thoroughly loyal, pious and zealous bishops in the true sense of the word; men whose first care will be to preach the Gospel and to minister the Gospel Sacraments and to serve as true pastors.

There should be this proviso: there must be bishops enough, no fewer than will give each prefectural centre one. Seventeen, or seventy, rather than seven; for of such bishops seventeen could be found more easily than seven.

The Japanese possess the aptitudes which are needed for useful and loyal service in the episcopate. When their minds are cleared of erroneous presuppositions about the office of a bishop and they conceive the ministry not in terms of mechanism or statecraft but in terms of spiritual biology it will not be hard to find priests among the present admirable company of Japanese pastors who are worthy of the chief priesthood.

The subject was one which received the most serious attention of Bishop Awdry. His view finally

took definite shape under the stress of three considerations: (1) that it would be a great advantage to the foreign bishops to have a Japanese counsellor among them, and the Church loses much by want of this; (2) that it is important for one or more Japanese to be learning what really are the kinds of points which arise when the responsible chief officers of the Church meet in council over the Church's larger interests, and what considerations (less apparent to those outside) especially weigh upon them because of their wider responsibilities; and (3) above all that not only should the first Japanese Bishops have some training in their office, either having small dioceses or the position of Coadjutor so that they individually should arrive by degrees at large authority; but even more than this, that they should come into the episcopate one at a time and should gradually (and not in the space of a very few years) become an actual majority of the episcopate. Thus his view was that at least one Japanese "should be in training" (evidently after receiving consecration) so as to be ready to take up a vacancy.

Such in 1907 were the serious and well pondered opinions of a learned and holy Bishop who believed that even then "more than one" might be found qualified for such a work so conditioned. It seems guarded enough, and cautiously thought out, and yet nothing has since been done. In 1918 Dr. Boutflower, who as "Bishop Cecil" has succeeded Bishop Awdry in the South Tokyo Chiho, suggested that he be succeeded by a Japanese Bishop as "Diocesan," Bishop Cecil re-

maining as his Coadjutor and counsellor. The other Bishops gave counsel adverse to this tentative proposal.

The bold, the rash proposal to divide the land into not fewer than twenty dioceses, the present seven missionary bishops remaining either in care of the missions, or included among the twenty, remains to be weighed.

In such dioceses the attention paid in each to mere business would be relatively insignificant and the evil of secularism would lose much of its power. Corresponding inversely to this dwindling influence of affairs and worldliness, spiritual forces ought to be increasingly manifest in the life and work of such bishops.

When the people see the Bishop — their Bishop — giving his first care to the preaching of the Gospel to his own countrymen, and keeping watch lest spiritual abuses creep in about the administration of the Sacraments, the worship of God, and the preaching of the Word, it must result in their perceiving that the true function of the ministry is the continuation of Christ's own ministry by His own chosen delegates who receive their office and mission through the episcopate. Such a notion is incompatible with the far too prevalent idea that the minister is the delegated official of the people.

All such cares and obligations, and those which spring from them, such as the founding of schools for the maintaining of the purity of the faith and for teaching the rudiments of the belief to children, could be undertaken by a man whose jurisdiction did

not extend beyond one chief town and its naturally tributary region.

The episcopate has not yet been given to the Japanese Church. It must be given. Granting, provisionally, that there is substantial agreement as to what the episcopate is, one question remains: on what terms will it be given? That, receiving a really satisfactory answer, the questions as to when and how, and of support, are subsidiary.

It has been the aim of this book to speak of principles rather than of institutions, to show that there is life instead of dwelling upon the products, to show the meaning and direction of movement rather than the number of machines that transmit power. Such an aim may not be sought to the exclusion of institutions, products, and machines from view. History must not be sublimated till it pass over into philosophy.

One fact strikes the student of missions as soon as he has a view of the whole scene — all the missions act in the same way. As soon as possible they gather new converts into societies, they start schools, they encourage social reforms among the Japanese even beyond the Christian border and assist them, and they never meddle with politics.

The schools of the Nippon Sei Kokwai have not been numerous but they have gradually achieved marked distinction. It is noteworthy that although the English Bishops have all been scholars and some of them have been University dignitaries, it was not they but the Americans who have brought the great schools to their present high state of efficiency, and

have widened their range so that they are no longer simple aids to conversion, as "mission-schools" but seats of academic culture. Missionary effort is not neglected in them, but the first influence upon the impressionable nature of the boys (or girls) is the Christian atmosphere of the place, and this, even without a word spoken or suggestion made, is felt very strongly; we know this from the testimony of the lads themselves. Such a school for boys is St. Paul's College of the American Mission in Tokyo. This has already been mentioned in its early phase of a simple mission-adjunct. As such it had a useful career. But with the obtaining of a government license St. Paul's increased in numbers and popularity and so high was the scholastic standard that the utmost possible number of boys permitted to enter was soon reached, and for about twenty years could not be increased. (The Imperial Department of Education requires a fixed area of exercise ground and of seat-room for such and such a number of pupils.) In 1907 a long-dreamed-of University College was opened which increased the total number of pupils and raised the status of the institution. A few years later ground was bought in the outskirts of the city and thither the University was carried in the autumn of 1918, very large sums of money having been raised in America for the new buildings and general equipment. The school numbered 50 in 1893. It now exceeds 800. It has become in fact the one special school for boys for the seven districts.

In close connection with it, both physically and

vitally, is the Central Theological College for the Church. This takes the place of the small Trinity Divinity School maintained by the American Church Mission for many years.

The American Church maintains also two well-equipped Girls' Schools, St. Margaret's in Tokyo and St. Agnes' in Kyoto. These have the government approval as of High School rank and have some hundreds of pupils.

The work of education shows that concentration and unification of effort have been attained, or at least sought for. The Methodists, with perhaps more abundant means, have established what may be called regional schools, especially for girls, but there again the same plan is followed. The Roman Catholics with their French teaching communities of *Religieuses* and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart have magnificent Girls' Schools, and are extraordinarily influential.

Among the educational agencies of recent growth, especially in American missions, the *Kindergarten* has been widely adopted and used with success. The Japanese themselves begin their course of instruction with the Kindergarten and in making use of it in the Christian propaganda the missions are following the course of the Japanese development.

Modern interest in psychology has drawn the attention of educators to the importance of shaping the minds and awakening the powers of children very early in life.

The apparatus of balls and rods and colours and the like, and the mingling of play with work, the frequent

songs and rhythmical drills, and the various modes of quickening imagination are more or less psychologically sound, but the foundation of it all, the impression of truth by training the senses and not solely the intellect, is not new. It was the very basis of the Greek education of the individual for his own life as social and political through the identification of the beautiful and the good and true. The Greeks insisted upon the ethical value of their art; they never dissociated the two points of view.

Froebel in founding the Kindergarten was systematizing with German thoroughness a method of bringing up children, which had the highest sanctions of human experience, but which had been overlooked since the break-up of Europe at the Reformation. The Kindergarten has become an indispensable adjunct in the American church work. More than a thousand little boys and girls are enrolled.

The only school and home for the care of feeble-minded children in Japan was organized first as an orphanage for little girls and afterwards providentially took its present form. It was due to the sympathy and self-sacrifice of Mr. R. Ishii and his wife, who brought special gifts for dealing with children as well as skill in the use of methods of awakening intelligence in the minds of defectives. Mr. and Mrs. Ishii are modestly and quietly accomplishing their work in the most admirable spirit of duty and fidelity to Christian ideals. It is not supported by the American Church Mission, though under Bishop McKim a chaplain ministers the sacraments.

These two self-sacrificing members of the Sei Ko Kwai exemplify precisely those virtues of mutuality and patient gentleness which show Japanese character in most admirable form.

Lepers in Japan exist in thousands, yet even residents see comparatively little of them, - tourists usually do not see them at all. Now and then in Tokyo one or two lie sprawled out upon a bridge, begging,— a loathsome and disgusting spectacle. For a day or two they keep their place, and then the police drive them away. In a month or so they venture out again, gather a few coppers which the passers-by toss them with averted faces, babble a rapid formula of gratitude, and then submit to be driven away again. So the years pass by with the sad derelicts and these passing incidents make up the most of our relations with the lepers. Nor is much known about them, for the Japanese feel themselves disgraced by them and as far as they can keep them out of sight. The government is working steadily on the problem of the eradication of the disease. There is solid ground for the expectation that with better conditions of life the pest may be gradually got rid of as it was in Europe, but it is a slow process, for the causes of leprosy and the conditions which favour it remain obscure, nor are the laws of its progress clear. It is pretty well settled that, once begun, there is no cure. All then that the most earnest and skilled physician can do is to minister comfort to the victim in the decline. The hopelessness of heathenism appears in its treatment of lepers. The means of sensual pleasures

too often are put in his reach and while he has bodily strength enough to move about he is encouraged to quench his natural shame in shamelessness.

The pitiful spectacle of these lepers stirred a sensitive French priest, M. l'Abbé Testevide, to minister to them. He secured the means to open a hostel or home for them, about seventy miles from Tokyo, on the slopes of the great peak Fuji San. This was about thirty years ago. The "Leproserie de Gotenba" still cares for about eighty patients, the centre and soul of the work being in the chapel.

A similar home on a smaller scale has for a good many years been kept up by the Presbyterians at Meguro, a suburb of Tokyo. In more recent years Miss Hannah Riddell, an independent worker of the Church of England, has founded a mission home for lepers at Kumamoto, in Kyushu. To this work with all the power of large-hearted sympathy she has devoted her genius as an organizer. Her means, her time, her life, are all poured out for these human wrecks.

In the winter of 1915 the American Church began its first regular work at Kusatsu, a region full of hot springs of varied chemical constitution about 120 miles from Tokyo. To work among these lepers a devoted English woman, Miss Cornwall-Legh, has given her

¹ The Lepers' Home at Gotenba: In the spring of 1911 I paid a visit to this hospital, where I was most cordially welcomed by the Director, l'Abbé Bertrand. I wrote a long account of the work for the Japan Mail, then edited by Capt. Brinkley. I believe that it was the first full account of this great charity ever given to the general public. It can be found in files of the Weekly Japan Mail for April, 1911.

life, and, with the whole-hearted approval of Bishop McKim, has taken up residence among them. A congregation of more than fifty communicants has been gathered from the lepers and there is a Kindergarten, a hostel for leper girls, and a dispensary.

It is no more than justice to add that the Japanese government as a part of its capable and efficient work for the scientific sanitation has undertaken work for lepers. All that medical skill and science can supply from unlimited funds for the bodily ease of patients is given in the government hospitals. They cannot give, not having it, the ministering which Christian hospitals have in overflowing abundance,—the wise tenderness, the cheering sympathy, the patient strength that the French and the Anglo-Saxons put forth as the fruit of Christian living, nor can the government supply not faith alone but charity, and that other gift, which Miss Riddell perceived to be the special thing needed by the lepers, and which by a happy inspiration she used as a name for her hostel - Mission of Good Hope. So all these Christian homes are missions of good hope, because they have given to the poor lepers what before they never possessed, manhood and a soul.

The lepers are not the only derelict class in Japan. In the great northern island of Hokkaido are the remnants of a people who ages ago possessed the northern half of the central island itself — the Ainu.

It was the work of the Yamato race under the early Emperors to overcome the Ainu in their seats in the heart of the present Empire, and, when dislodged, to drive them northward from point to point until they were quite dispossessed, and then the last cowed and broken tribes were forced across Tsugaru Straits into their present abodes. Traces of them are found by archæologists all along the line of their retreat. They now form semi-savage communities in the forest clad mountains of Hokkaido, still observing their primitive social customs and religious rites. It is believed by ethnologists that the Ainu are not related to either the Mongolian or Malayan races but are a submerged and retarded branch of the "Caucasian" race.

The truth there may be in speculations of this sort need not be considered here. Practically the scientific world has learned most of what it knows about the Ainu, their appearance, their social customs, their beliefs and cults, their language, from the Venerable Archdeacon John Batchelor of the Church Missionary Society, who has been their Apostle and Protector. His life among them has been so intimate that he has gained their good will, and he has been permitted to share so far as his conscience allowed in their rites and observances. His Ainu congregations are sprinkled all through their region and the genuineness of their religious progress is shown by its healthful reaction upon the social fabric, especially as regards intemperance and sexual laxity. Dr. Batchelor has made wide research into everything pertaining to the Ainu, and his contributions to our knowledge form the foundation for all future workers in the field and are of themselves of distinct scientific merit.

158 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

One of the first things the new resident in Japan learns is the vast number of hospitals, large and small. Japan is a psychological museum of singular facts and experiences. One of these curiosities of the mind was that while all Japan was shut off from the outside world for two hundred and fifty years, except for the Dutch trading station at Arima, the authorities took advantage of this connection with Holland to import a few European books, especially books on medicine. This book-learning was of real use to such Japanese medical practitioners as could by favour of circumstances get access to the books. And as soon as the modern treaties opened the ports for residence foreign physicians were warmly welcomed and permitted to practise. Such was the opening, as we have seen, by which Dr. Hepburn gained his chance of intercourse with the Japanese. Very early, too, after the Restoration, students were sent abroad to study medicine, and somewhat later two German physicians were sent out, upon the request of the government, to teach medicine and surgery in all their branches. Thus modern medical science was founded It has flourished amazingly, and Japanese physicians are as highly trained and as skilled as their fellows in Europe and America. Reference has been made to Japanese sciolists in this book,— such there are in the world where speculation thrives unchecked. In the world of positive conclusions where strict tests can be applied, as in medicine (and in exact sciences) the smatterer is filtered out.

The direct consequence of the high scientific

standards of the Japanese is that there is less scope for such works of bodily care in Japan as general hospitals and infirmaries than in such a country as China. The medical missionary or the trained nurse does not see such swarms of diseased wretches as beset his course in a Chinese town. Consequently hospitals have not been established by the missions, except in circumstances like those of the lepers in Japan; there is no such need for them.

Yet there are a few mission hospitals which serve the general public. One or two of them, such as St. Barnabas' in Osaka under Dr. George Laning of the American Episcopal Mission, was opened in 1874 and has continued during nearly half a century to serve in that great industrial city, the Manchester of Japan. There are also general hospitals under foreign care in Yokohama and Kobe. The special outstanding Christian general hospital is St. Luke's in Tokyo, like St. Barnabas' the work of the American Church. This has grown from a small one-story dispensary in less than twenty years to a great and well-equipped establishment under the forceful direction of Dr. R. B. Teusler. It has become known throughout the Orient from Singapore to Peking. Moreover it has gained the favour of the Japanese, the Emperor has made large gifts to it, and it is about to expand into an International Hospital, and this without compromising its Christian character.

The quality which differentiates the Christian hospitals from even the excellent public infirmaries is in tenderness and pity. The Japanese have learned from

160 NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE

their German preceptors to count "cases" as means of physiological experiments, and, possibly, to think that compassion hinders scientific efficiency and that it is a mark of weakness.

CHAPTER X

THE treatment of women in Japan has been spoken of as a disgrace to the nation. Still, when this is said, the condition must be heeded that it is so only when the nation is measured by the absolute scale of the Christian law of life. Japanese custom develops in women a gentle modesty and dutifulness which soften the rigour of patriarchal rule and fill the home with the power of affection.

Nevertheless the Christian rule of life must be made the formative element in the building up of the new life in the old empire, and to make it such is precisely the task of the Christian forces now at work. Nowhere is that rule of life more difficult to apply than to the status of women in the family.

It is not in the method of arranging marriages (by go-between and formal contracts as to marriage settlements) that the difficulties arise, for that method is entirely compatible with Christian life. When the method takes the Christian girl out of her father's home and hands her over to a heathen family, then it becomes intolerable. Yet how can that be helped? The family, a much wider group than our natural family of one couple and their children, decides that the alliance with the heathen family is advisable for the family, and the feelings of the bride, her inclina-

tions, and her religion have no weight in the forming of the decision. By her marriage she ceases to belong to her father and mother as much as if they were strangers, and she is incorporated into the new family. If her mother-in-law is opposed to Christianity then she may be forbidden the practice of her belief, she may be compelled to have her children reared as heathen.

In all this the Church can only try to console, she cannot interfere.

There is, however, an earlier stage when she can interfere herself and actually does, in two ways: In the first place by refusing to give the nuptial blessing upon mixed marriages,—marriages between a Christian and a non-Christian. Such unions are of course invalid by the New Testament.

Secondly, she requires the production of a legal certificate that the registration of the residence of the bride has been changed from her father's house to her husband's and has been recorded in the district office. Explanation is needed here. All towns are divided into districts convenient in size for police inspection. In each such district there is a register of each person in every house. Marriage is legalized by the change of the woman's registration from her old home to her husband's. The record of the change so effected is the proof of the legality of the marriage. Nothing else is needed but the change of registration,—no ceremony either religious or social.

The new Civil Code requires that the change of registration be made and a record kept in order to

validate the marriage. Suppose a couple, both Christians, go to church and "are married" by a priest of the Church, and thereupon live together. By Japanese law nothing has occurred, there is no marriage until the registration has been changed and recorded. The Church then to save her children from the stain of concubinage or "trial marriage" now requires that this record of change of registration be made before the priest may bless their union.

It is easy to see that in opposing herself to principles and customs which have been current in Japan everywhere for thousands of years, and which are the actual structure of the social order, the Church undertakes a duty of exceeding difficulty, in which her ministers must be taught the exact issue and its limits, up to which they must come, beyond which they must not go.

The true nature of the marriage relation in Japan is not apparent until we consider the correlative case where the man is taken into a family. We might even say that in all cases marriage involves the adoption of either a woman or a man into a family, not the founding of a new family. If a family with daughters only seeks perpetuation then a man must be found willing to come into that family and take its name. Marriage then is an institution for continuing a family, by the adoption into it of a woman or man who shall by means of sexual union with her or his consort continue the family and pay divine honours to the common ancestors. The family or house is a survival — not the only one — of primitive life.

Dogging the subject of marriage is divorce. In Japan divorce à vinculo can be had for so many causes that practically it becomes a matter of agreement. And this does not take into account trial marriages.

The special social blemish on Protestantism is that it has been morally ineffective against the disruptive forces which tend towards universal anarchy. It is not that there is not a strong current of right teaching, but that there is a lack of retributive justice. Divorces once being obtained legally, the churches put no disabilities upon the forming of fresh legal unions by the parties. They are not refused marriage by their ministers, nor are they repelled from sacraments. In consequence discipline becomes merely formal, the old time social ban upon divorced people dwindles yearly in its force and the shame of those who yield grows less.

In the World Almanac for 1919 there is a table of marriages and divorces in the United States from 1887 to 1906 inclusive. The dreadful decline transpires from a slight calculation. In 1887 divorces were to marriages as 1:17. In 1896 the proportion was 1:13. In 1906 the ratio was 1:11.

Statistics now available prove that the ratio continues to sink, for in 1916 the ratio was 1:9.

Perhaps the work which the whole Christian community in Japan should undertake should lie in steadily teaching that the essential properties of matrimony are unity and indissolubility, and that this is true even of natural marriages. Christian teachers cannot do better than to uphold even the matrimony of non-

Christians; they ought in no wise to undervalue any moral worth which they find settled and accepted in Japan. The next phase is to teach that among Christians marriage confers grace for its duties and to insure its stability; it is a true sacrament.

Step by step the teaching should go on, to show that its end is primarily the procreation of children and their education "in the Lord," and for mutual help and advantage, and as a remedy against sexual passion.

Beyond this the patriarchal idea still governing in Japan will mightily strengthen the teaching — too little known in America — that marriage is not only a contract but a status which is permanent. There the drift of opinon is registered by the laws. But law, either statute or prescriptive, needs a deeper, more vital sanction, for legal provisions have little direct influence upon divorce. Law, indeed, emphasizes personal rights, but he who waits for legislation to regenerate the world needs a patience of more durable fibre than human hopefulness can supply. Fresh rights mean fresh burdens and new duties; as they are accepted and performed ground is gained. The Church has been faint-hearted in this work of morally training her children for self-direction and self-government, but she alone can teach and enforce and reinforce with new powers all the new duties which come with new rights.

In the United States divorces may everywhere, except in two states, be procured with an ease which makes one shudder for the well-being of the nation. The two honourable exceptions are South Carolina,

which grants no divorces, and New York, which grants them for the cause of adultery alone. Even the good of these is all but nullified by the requirement of the Constitution that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." People remove from a "difficult state" like New York to an easy one, procure divorce, "remarry" and return expecting, and usually successfully, to retain all their former "church privileges."

Bishop McKim in this matter takes firm ground as he does in all other crucial moral questions, and he makes it perfectly clear that the only Christian position is that from valid matrimony there arises between the parties a bond which in its nature is perpetual and exclusive. The driving power of such teaching is very great when made by such a leader, and when it is given consistently for many years it gains strong hold upon the mind of new believers. That it does gain is seen in the known resistance given by Japanese young women to plans for marriage or divorce which if carried through would make her guilty of a breach of her Christian duty.

The teaching given by American Protestants upon marriage and divorce is more satisfactory than their practice in relation to it at home.

The lax, question-begging procedure adopted at home under the influence of American statute-law reduces the moral force of correct verbal teaching and of right example, and it is precisely the well understood laxity in America which hinders the formation of a strong, unyielding and uniform body of doctrine by all the missions of Japan.

Here is a region where uniformity ought to be sought and secured. The stress upon Japanese society would be very great, and furthermore it would be a way of opening the Japanese mind to the fact that the fundamentals of Christianity are more than a collection of theological propositions, more than a code of prohibitions. The actual life in Japanese homes, where it is not corrupted by passion or stained by greed and ambition, has in it so much that is admirable, it brings forth at its best such charming types of womanhood in mothers and daughters, so rich in their service and duty, and such fine, strong men, that if it were re-born under the Gospel spirit a type of Christian and natural life would be produced equal to any of the old lands, yet with a beauty all its own.

We in our western world have let the individual race away with his rights almost to the ruin of society. Japan, building ever upon the family, has in it the pledge, the living power rather, of resisting the corrosive forces which are at work upon the moral nature of human society. Yet the family alone cannot resist any more than the individual can resist those disintegrating forces. But if the family can gain its birth from on high, Japan might save not herself alone but the whole East.

In this way, too, the ever-vexed questions as to ancestor worship, the honour due to national heroes, the reverence to be accorded to great leaders would solve themselves. Puzzling and distracting as this

tangled snarl of customs is there is nothing final in them. Christian good sense can patiently work upon them and bring balance and proportion from the confusion.

. The reverberations of the great conflict are still rolling through the skies in Japan, as in all the world, but exactly how far that catastrophe has affected mission work is difficult to perceive. It is hardly likely that a dozen men, taken hap-hazard, would agree to a verdict one way or other after the evidence was laid before them. The Japanese people are in no position to know either the extent of the battle or the moral issues involved. The more the story of the war was brought to them the more confused they seemed to be. German propaganda had for many years been extensively maintained and it seems likely that at least for two years the idea of German heroism in the face of an attack from many nations prevailed widely. The stories of atrocities seemed to have been disbelieved. Nor was it until the later phases of the war that the actual nature of the war was apprehended and interest in the outcome felt. How far mission work was affected remains obscure. I should be inclined to think, not harmfully. And it would even be probable that the triumph of right, especially if by a just peace treaty the world is released from fear of future aggression by such a nation as Germany, will be for the open advantage of the missionary calise.

There would be no doubt at all as to this if Christian reunion in the fullest sense could be secured.

The missionaries of the early period have been blamed for not providing the Japanese with the New Testament in Japanese. It is argued that had they done so the Christian remnant would have been better furnished for their long segregation from the Christian world.

Undoubtedly they would have been better supplied with food for their faith, but the argument is not only unkind but unfair, in that it seeks to apply to men of one age and of one race and one manner of thought the standards of a later, more advanced period as used by men of different race and different training. Is it fair to blame Spaniards and Portuguese of the 16th century for not acting like Anglo-Saxons of the 19th and 20th centuries? And again, the circumstances under which those Jesuits and Franciscans toiled were almost anarchistic.

Feudal divisions had broken in upon the racial and spiritual unity of the Yamato race, and everywhere violence, treachery, fear and famine were near at hand. A great break-up seemed imminent, persecution always menaced and martyrdom was known to be lurking near. Their work could hardly then have seemed to them otherwise than what is now spoken of as apocalyptic; they must have felt, like St. John—"it is the last time"; or like St. Peter—"seeing that we look for the passing of the heavens and the melting of the elements and the burning up of the world and the coming of the new heavens and a new earth let us be diligent that we may be found in peace, without spot." Not as builders of a native church

but as dying men speak to the dying did they toil. In short, not only should we take into account the difference between races and times and scenes, but the outlook then to them there if we pass finally upon those first missionaries of the Cross.

And if to these considerations we add the story of the staunchness of the children of those martyrs it will be clear enough that the missionaries taught not only with intensity but with fulness, and that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and Baptism ensured to those confessors during their long segregation from the Christian world grace for their condition; and may we not dare to liken them in their long and hopeless trial to the Penitent Robber on the cross — not knowing much, but of unexampled faith?

We began with a discourse upon the primitive mind of the Japanese. After two thousand years it persists in mingled strength and frailty. But measure the race by its best, as we have just spoken of it, and there will be apparent a power for good, a capacity for cheerful acceptance of arduous tasks, a readiness to perceive and serve, which can only be limited by breadth of their proper field of action, and which needs only the power of the new life from above to cure it of moral stains and obliquities and to bring it into the open brotherhood of the Kingdom of Heaven.

CHAPTER XI

As soon as the missionaries learned the real nature of the people of Japan they saw that no hope might be cherished of a national turning to Christianity unless the sectarian spirit which has made such deep clefts in Protestant Christendom were not allowed to be felt in mission work. We have seen that by the names chosen they tried to escape from the long and bitter contentions of Western Christians. Soon there came attempts to gather as many converts as possible into one Japanese church. A letter written by an Anglican missionary just at the time of the organization of the Nippon Sei Kokwai shows the sentiments of the time: "There is to be one native church in Japan; the 'Union Church' numbering five missions has already united with the Congregationalists, making a church of over 10,000 souls. The Methodists already numbering thousands will not remain separate many years longer. When they unite with the present native church there will be but a few outside its pale. Ours will be on an inclusive basis."

Yet all the hopes and fears here hinted at have been belied by the event. More than thirty years of trial have passed and all the unions which had then been made remain under their own denominational colours. It seems fair to conclude that each of these groups

still has its own special qualities as well as its undivided share in the general inheritance of Christian belief. Denominationalism or sectarianism is then not yet bankrupt. And yet each group feels the need of wider fellowship. Those bodies which can do so accept the principle of federation. Manifestly it is impossible for the Anglicans to enter such a league as corporate bodies or dioceses. The very statement of the case must show that we cannot. How can a Bishop and his clergy and people accept the co-operation of Christians which they are not free to offer again on even terms? Yet who can see the devoted lives, the passionate zeal for souls, the fine learning, the spiritual energy of the Protestant missionaries without a pang of conscience that we and they are not united visibly and invisibly? Can the remedy for this harm — harm to both - be found in abandoning our search for the final law of Christian life? There is, besides, the wide union of their forces and our own alike with the great Latin Church and its allies, and of the branches of the Eastern Church. Until union with these has been effected all lesser terms of reunion are as much like the actuality as stage castles are to the stone castles of fact,—mere illusion and facade.

The situation, being not final, calls for the work of officers of *liaison* — if we may borrow a term from the world war — learning from each side for the common good and by reciprocal interpretation helping to bind the forces together.

That there is need of much spade work here is well known. It is stressed in the mission field when some

in hard and narrow arrogance dare to speak of the only society of Christians that has endured martyrdom for the name of Christ as if they were not Christians.

Federation will not work in this wider and more vital effort; its basis is far too narrow, far too slight.

Efforts have been made from time to time by Anglicans and Russians which were meant to set up cordial relations between them. Archbishop Nicolai was heartily sympathetic with the general purpose of these efforts. One of them, the latest made, was made, in 1909, under the influence of the writer as Secretary for Japan of the Oriental and Anglican Church Union Society. A "Society of Reconciliation and Peace" was formed under the joint patronage of Archbishop Nicolai, Bishop McKim, and Bishop Cecil. Joint meetings were held and discussions ensued in which the grounds of differences between the two churches were studied. Archbishop Nicolai granted the entire objective validity of Anglican ordinations, and much enthusiasm was manifested. But some overardent sympathizers were impatient for results, they advertised rashly, the meetings were attended by far too many who were unable to follow critical historical and theological arguments. In consequence the authorities of the Holy Governing Synod in Russia seemed to become alarmed, and even the Archbishop and his immediate circle needed time for deliberation. Action ceased. The movement, however, is only checked. The Anglican standpoint has been accepted as possible. At the great Thanksgiving Liturgy celebrated in Tokyo for the capture of Jerusalem from the Turks Anglican priests were numbered among the Russians in the great Russian Church. Steps once gained are not lost.

Practically nothing has drawn the French clergy close to their Anglican neighbors. A few have personal acquaintance with us, and there has been an exchange of courtesies.

Before the alarm over Modernism, a few tokens of good will had been given. A loosely-woven league of prayer linked some of us together, including the French Archbishop and two or three of our bishops. The tie was a slight one. A leaflet was circulated each month in French and English suggesting subjects for prayer. We all agreed to say the Collect for the 4th Sunday in Advent daily. But with the storm about Modernism all such fellowship in intercession ceased and even personal intercourse was greatly restricted. The French clergy, it must be said, seem to cling obstinately to an idée fixe.—that Anglicans hold to the cold and bitter Calvinism of Seminary text-books. Therefore they give no heed to even the mildest of remonstrances against such a summary unilateral judgment. The effect upon the Anglicans is unfortunate. They feel that all hope of obtaining even the most elementary form of justice - a bare hearing — is denied them and, wearying of isolation, tend to draw towards the other side. Christian forces are thus more and more gathering into two groups, Roman Catholics and non-Romans, with perhaps three subdivisions in the latter.

The ruling element in this second group at the op-

posite pole from the Roman Catholics is found clustered about the apostles of pragmatism, the Y. M. C. A., who, quite as much as the French clergy, are subject to their own idée fixe, the power of sentimentality.

Of the two contrasted turning points it may be said that if the logical end of Roman contention is the setting up of a despotism to protect the deposit of faith so as to hand it down intact, the logical end of the other is a no less oppressive tyranny, masked though it may be by the geniality of its leaders anarchy (not lawlessness, but absence of law).

Such comments as these have no relation to particular persons but are broad generalizations, with all the defects inherent in general statements. They seem to be justified, and if so to make it plain that the way to unity cannot lie in the practice of the same things, and also that although there is a path towards unity it is not an easy path but one which is repugnant to the impatient temper of the times. It takes into consideration the causes of the old separations, it seeks to estimate how far those causes are still alive and what measure of justice there is in those complaints, and it asks how those needs may be satisfied. Furthermore this method requires the question for every party to ponder, whether even if there have been abuses they have been so great as to destroy the faith and compel separations and whether they could not be endured. In fact rationalism has worked havoc not only in paring down the area and contents of belief, but in the hands of the most orthodox of believers by

176

buckling upon the living body a rigid cuirass of logic. It is the harness of deduction which has, perhaps more than anything else, hindered men from perceiving that the constitutent elements of organic life work in proportion and relation, not merely in physical juxtaposition. The masters of spiritual life apply this principle of relation and balance in their guidance of individuals. Thus always with the masters of both asceticism and mysticism. How rarely is it used in controversy!

This method of work for reunion is hard and cheerless. The immediate gains are meagre. But it seems to correspond to the social promptings to duty which have been stirring the free nations of the world to such splendid deeds of sacrifice in these later days. It tends to make each Christian feel responsible for his brother's withdrawal from home, or for his continuance in exile.

All our beliefs when they reach a certain depth and sincerity touch the same bottom of universal moral truth. There men find that the thoughts which seemed to be in irreconcilable contradiction have their living source in the same fundamental intuitions, and reveal an identical reality. It is chiefly words and misrepresentations which set men against each other. Men have, as it has been said, ten different ways of thinking, they have only one way of living, and in case of need, of dying. That is what brings them together. They do not stop to discuss the reasons for what they do. They only see the act, which is the same for all. So there is at bottom, under all ap-

parent oppositions, an invisible force which sets all hearts vibrating in unison and inspires to duty. It is this simple sense of duty which has raised man above nature, and has given him a sense of the supersensible. Their attitude towards other men is seen to be solely one of respect; above all, there is respect for something infinitely above man. There is a fine presentation of this thought in a brief and original work by M. Pierre de Combertin, Le respect mutuel. He declares: "In default of a common faith impossible to realize in modern life appeal has been made to tolerance, and many have boasted of its virtues and have disliked to hear of its evident weakness. This weakness was in its very nature. Nothing solid can be founded on what is negative, and tolerance is a negative virtue par excellence. The higher principle to which we should refer ought to possess all the breadth of tolerance without its coldness, and all the fruitfulness of faith without its usual narrowness and uncompromising character. Between tolerance and faith there is room for mutual respect. Tolerance, after all, is only a form of indifference, and can apply only to people who ignore each other. A relation of respect can be established only when people know each other."

Harmony with vital unity is secured, not by superficial concessions, even honest ones, or by diplomatic tact and the careful blurring of lines of demarcation, still less through the authority of a power imposing conformity from without, but by the conscientious deepening of our own thought.

Internal peace, the basis of all other peace and harmony and union, involves both heart and intelligence, and kindles the whole being into burning tenderness and humility. It is the affirmation of being, like love, but the renunciation of self-like saintliness.

The great Nicolai lived in this power, it was the inner guide of William Awdry.

But if it is to be used as a means of gaining unity in the mission field each Christian body must have faith enough to undertake a thorough and persevering task of criticism upon itself. Say what apologists and controversialists may, the Christian collectivity lacks that endowment of the first Adam in Paradise which the classic theologians call integritas.— the gift, above nature, of physical, moral, and spiritual wholeness. Without this endowment the Body of Christ is in a state of privation, and in all its parts and members suffers from a series of diseases. None are exempt from them, not even the bodies which have the apostolic constitution (not defined here but left for each to take in his own sense). As the individual is healed by the infusion of charity so must it be with the groupings which Christian men have in their impatience and despair framed to take the place of the Catholic household,—charity, or mutual respect, needs to be cultivated humbly.

In other words there can be no mutual gains until after mutual confession. Anglicans may rightly ask that Protestant denominations recognize the sacramental principle as the cardinal point not only of our devotional life but of our insistence upon the Episcopate, yet there will be few gains all around until we see how our stiffness and unintelligent fear of extremes repress life. Both of these groups in turn must learn to honour Roman Catholics for their steadfast adherence to the dogmas of the faith before they may rightly ask the Roman Court to relax its discipline. Nor must the Eastern Church be left out of view. All other bodies must see the living power of unbroken tradition if they would request the inclusion of their οἰκονομία among the permissible variations which make up the spiritual heritage of Christians.

It is believed that all these suggestions are positive, even though made in general terms, with the possible exception of characterization applied to Anglican faults. That was made vague and indistinct of set purpose. It is meant to cover so elusive a thing as personal and official demeanour, and to contrast our laxity in dogma with the firmness of Roman Catholics.

At home parochial or national standards are cherished, and may work little mischief. In the mission field a world view must be sought. Men are not sent there to keep the peace, but first of all to "overturn, overturn," and then to upbuild a home of final peace.

The crowning error, or the seminal error of our modern divisions lies in the notion that the Church ideally is a society organized to propagate a set of principles called religious. But this notion is baldly sectarian. Under its narrowing influence each division becomes a law for itself, and lives in self-absorbed exclusiveness. Far different was the broadly human view that prevailed in the Middle Ages of the providential ordering of human society. As has been said by a great living scholar of the Church of England, Father Figgis, "one of the worst services of Protestantism to human thought has been the isolation of God's work to the life of our Lord and His Apostles, whose unique authority is thus separated from the whole of history before or since, with too often the practical effects of substituting for faith in a Living Power belief in a long ago completed transaction."

The ideal vision of a unified human society which was the inspiring principle of St. Augustine, of Dante, yes and of Gregory VII, and which did in fact make the Mediaeval Church a civilization, must be made dominant upon the minds of Christians before unity can be brought about in the mission field. Rather it is the higher optimism which will be content with no half-measures, but insists upon nothing less as worth while than the total and vital oneness of humanity in Christ.

Traditions and expectations springing from the sayings of the New Testament, strong outgrowths from the deep soil of Christian experience, old and cherished customs, and also new forces created by the present situation must be discerned, scrutinized, transformed and mingled, before the now atrophied will to brother-hood can renew its empire upon the fickle and impatient believers in the one Gospel of the Incarnate Word.

NEW LIFE IN THE OLDEST EMPIRE 181

To this end the framers of the Nippon Sei Kokwai have dedicated their powers and their lives, and have claimed organic fellowship with the perennial apostolate of the Catholic Church.



APPENDIX

The Baptismal Formularies and Rites used by the Japanese "Baptizers" in the period 1638-1865.

The formulary handed down was the Latin form, whose meaning had been carefully taught by the missionaries of the seventeenth century, "N. Ego te baptizo in nomine

Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti."

The French clergy found that in some instances the invocation of the Holy Ghost had disappeared altogether or had been truncated, while in one case it alone remained of the three divine Names. All the forms were more or less disfigured, coming as they did by oral communication through so many generations of Japanese speakers.

- Iogo te baotizno mono i nomoune Paiter, iets Hirii, iets Seu Santi. Amen.
- Iego te paoterenzo in nomi dz' Patris, Hirii, iets S'birito Sancti. Amen
- 3. Ego te baterinzo in nomine Pater et Hirio et Spirito Santo. Amen.
- 4. Iogo te paterzo in nomine Pater et Hirio et Spirito Santo. Amen.
- 5. Iego te bazmono in nomine Pater et Hirio et Spirito Santo.
- 6. Ioko te paothinzo mono midz' in nomine Pater et Hirio et Spirito Santo.
- 7. Ego te baothizo in nomine Patris et Birii, et Spiritos Sancti. Amen.
- 8. Iogo te baotizo mono in nomine Pater et Hirio et Spirito nome to Santi. Iesamen.
- 9. Kono hito wo paotizo in nomne Patero, Hilio et S'ra Spiritou Sancto. Iamoun.

In these forms we see the changes of the f (in Filii) into h. This change is practically inevitable for Japanese. They make the sound of f by the lips alone, very lightly pressing

them together so that the breath comes through; the sound is thus very nearly an aspirated h. In the seventh form alone this h has undergone a further transformation, into an explosive labial, which accounts for *Birii*. The persistence of the true vowel sounds of the Latin words is very remarkable. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact of the identity of these vowel sounds in both Latin and Japanese. One or two other places may be noticed. In No. 6 "mono midz' in" etc. *Mono* means "thing" (concrete), and is sometimes used for "child" (as we say of an infant, "it's a sweet little thing"). "Midz'" is an abbreviation of midzu (water). In the last form we have "Kono hito wo," which means this person ("wo" is the sign of the accusative), a free translation therefore of the pronoun te.

As for the rites used, the missionaries wondered what to think of the custom of some baptizers of using half of a shell-full of water before the words and half afterwards. Some baptizers poured the water on the heads of the infants without saying the words. Some pronounced the words over the water in a bottle and then gave the water to a helper, who took it to the home of the child and there poured it on his head, or even gave it to him to drink. Such cases as this last were very rare. Two baptizers from a distant island said that the custom with them was to baptize dead infants when it had not been possible to baptize them living.

Another interesting discovery was that certain customs observed in the villages of Christians could be traced directly back to the original missionary Order. Thus such and such a village observed Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday as days of abstinence, while others kept Friday and Saturday. Villages thus differing supposed that they were of different religions. The former classes were Kirishitan Shu, the latter Pateren Shu, according as they were the spiritual descendants of Franciscans or of Jesuits. The community of Urakami seemed to belong to the Franciscan family since they had preserved a Confiteor in which to the invocation of St. Peter and St. Paul there was joined one to St. Francis. There was also some trace of the Dominican line, and a Doghio Shu.

In these words "Shu" means sect, and so we have Christian Sect, Father's Sect, Do (min) ghio Sect.

Dr. Greene's contributions are chiefly found in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Of this learned society he was for many years an active member, serving also in its Council; its President for six years.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR 1917

Roman Catholics	
Congregationalists 20,473	253,476

STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING THE NIPPON SEI KOKWAI

Dantized adher	1888	1899	1908	1918	1919	1920	1921
Baptized adher- ents	2,582	• • • •		27,367	27,976	28,267	29,257
Communicants		4,574	7,024	10,759	11,103	11,292	11,368
during the year	• • • •	****	• • • •	7,275	7,458	7,667	7,779
Foreign clergy	33	57	72	63	63	62	59
Japanese clergy.	6	44	65	120	122	145	151
Catechists	60	137	142	139	124	91	93
Mission women	II	60	78	74	78	69	62

Japanese contributions in

Yen 3,817 10,680 35,630 74,447 88,514 141,613 139,223

(One yen at par = about two shillings; a half-dollar.)

The figures for 1888 are taken from the report to the Tokyo Conference of 1900; those for 1899 and 1908 are from Motoda's History, those for 1918 to 1921 inclusive are from the annual reports of the Church. The whole series is due to the courtesy of the Rt. Rev. H. J. Hamilton, D.D., Bishop of Mid Japan.



ERRATA

Page	10.	Reverse second ideograph.
, 46	31. 1. 24.	For Forçade, read Forcade.
46	31, 1. 24. 42, 11. 27 and 28.	After the words "baptismal formulae" insert
		reference to page 183.
66	68, 1. 22.	For "need," read "meed."
46	72, 1. 20.	For "gauge," read "gage."
66	97, 1, 21.	Before the word Hiroshima, insert the words
	<i>3</i> ,	"at Kure near."
66	120, 11. 4 and 5.	Omit the words "what are called canons, but
	, - - -	in effect become."
66	137, 1. 17.	For 1896, read 1899.
	137, 1. 19.	For 1896, read 1894.
	137, 1. 23.	For 1908, read 1909.
		For 1913, read 1912.
	178, 11. 4 and 5.	Insert semicolon after "love," and substitute
	270, 11. 1, 11.11.	comma in place of hyphen between the
		words "self" and "like."

NOTES

Page 118. An eighth district called *Tohoku* (Northeastern) was formed in 1920. It is taken altogether from the Diocese of North Tokyo, and embraces the greater part of the Island of Hondo from its northern extremity to within about sixty miles of Tokyo. In the spring of 1923, two new dioceses—Tokyo and Osaka—were created by action of the Synod of the Sei Ko Kwai. These two dioceses comprise, respectively, the two cities mentioned. Later, the Diocese of Tokyo elected, as its first Bishop, the Rev. J. S. Motoda, Ph.D., D.D.; and the Diocese of Osaka similarly elected the Rev. Yasutaro Naide.

Page 124, par. 1.

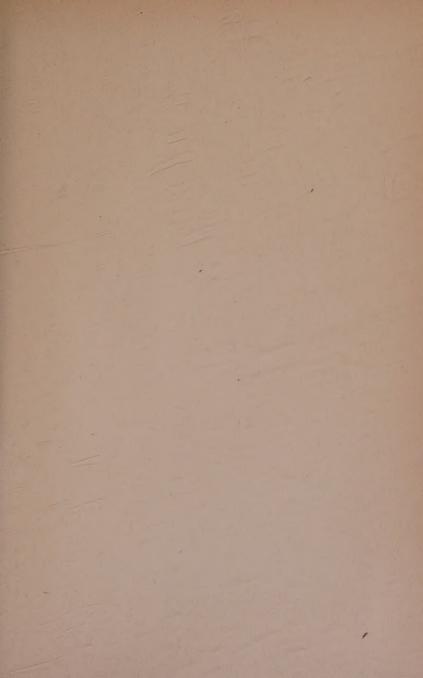
The Presiding Bishop is chosen from the body of Bishops freely. As a matter of historical fact, the

Senior Bishop has always been chosen.

Page 137, 1. 21.
Bishop Cecil resigned in 1921.









Sweet, C.F.

275,1R 5W 36

New life in the oldest

275.1R 5 n 36 cop. 2

